MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

THE PERSISTING FACTORS OF THE GREAT WAR

BY

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INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION ON LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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PREFACE

The present volume has been the result of a feeling on the part of the authors that there is a vital need of an outline of the nineteenth century history that will bear a direct relation to the Great War and its outcome. This need has been expressed widely in secondary school circles and demands that frank acceptance on the part of text book writers which necessitates the reconstruction of the Modern History text on an entirely new basis.

The authors frankly take a synthetic view of history and have attempted so to organize the materials of their book that students may have no difficulty in recognizing the factors and motives of the great struggle going back all the way through the nineteenth century. They beg to call attention to at least two unique features of the book. The first is the presentation at the beginning of the volume, of the present condition in which the world finds itself with the great problems facing it for solution, after which there is the somewhat chronological but more problematical treatment of the main features of nineteenth century civilization. The second is the constructive treatment of, and the comparatively large space devoted to, the social and economic problems throughout the century. These problems today are more important than form of government, nationality, or any other feature of our world civilization and should be presented to the coming generation in a constructive form instead of as additions to political history.

The authors make no pretense to originality of materials. They acknowledge their indebtedness to the world of scholarship from which they have freely gathered their materials, often paraphrasing and giving credit only when direct quotation seemed advisable.

They wish especially to express their indebtedness to the editor, Dean W. F. Russell of the college of education in the University of Iowa, who has given of his time and judgment regarding form and organization of the materials. They wish also to express their deep obligation to Miss Bessie Pierce, supervisor of the history work in the University Elementary and High Schools. Miss Pierce is responsible for contributing the part on America's participation in the war and has also added the suggestions for study and the references appended to each chapter. She has also read the entire manuscript and offered

valuable suggestions for revision in the light of her experience as a teacher of the high school student.

The section on the American participation in the war has been added because, in a sense, all history became a unity so far as the war was concerned from 1917 to its end, and also because it has been thought that here would be the logical place to teach the war as a whole in all its phases.

The authors bespeak the kindly criticism of their fellow teachers. They realize the difficulties of breaking new paths in a study of so great importance but hope the attempt has not been altogether fruitless and that other studies may follow which will treat of the past in its relations with the present.

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MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

PART I

CHAPTER I

EARLY ATTEMPTS AT PEACE

THE great World War and the work of restoring peace during the period from August 4, 1914 to June 28, 1919, have been among the most momentous events in the history of the world. Part of the importance lies in the very significant character of the questions involved in the war itself, such as the questions of territory, national safety, economic independence, and access to the sea. Important also is the great cost of the war, a cost which for a long time seemed certain to bankrupt the nations engaged. Equally significant is the heartless and savage way in which Germany carried on the war, and the terrible fear and distrust among the nations of Europe engendered through the preceding period of peace and a long, bitter war. Finally, the importance of the events may be traced in the moral and spiritual awakening which has come to all the nations of the world as a result of the war, which the governments of all the warring nations have felt keenly; and though they have used it partly for their advantage, it is to be hoped that they have also made use of it for the purpose of securing peace upon a basis of justice and fair dealing. This appeal has given moral force to the Western Allies, especially, and has, since the armistice, restrained many natural desires for revenge and for gain at the expense of the beaten foe. If sometimes selfishness and fear seemed to dictate the work of the Peace Congress also, it is only necessary to try to picture a peace congress under the old conditions, in which each nation engaged consciously aimed at getting as much as possible for itself without any consideration for the rights of other states, to realize that this persistent moral demand for a righteous peace has been at work in the negotiations at Versailles.

Importance of Making Peace, 1914-1919.

It is to be the purpose of the first section of this volume to trace the peace developments from the early part of the war to their final culmination in the peace with Germany signed on June 28, 1919, and

finally with the last of the allied enemies in July, 1919, and ratified by all the Powers engaged except the Unites States.[1]

During the year 1914 all civilized countries, both warring nations and neutrals, busied themselves in trying to establish the guilt of having brought on the war. Each of the nations at war produced its government publications, the gray, yellow, orange, red or blue books, to prove its own innocence and the guilt of its enemies, partly to facilitate recruiting and organization of the war at home, partly with the desire to state its case to the neutral world and to justify itself before these judges.[2] In America (in spite of the President's request that we both act and think neutrally), we tried earnestly to trace the real causes of the war and to find a ground for our sympathy or resentment. The cause for our deep interest and concern was our great abhorrence of war and our consequent desire to know who was to blame for so great a catastrophe. Further, not only Americans but the more thoughtful among Europeans, even men like H. G. Wells, the famous English novelist, who insisted upon fighting the war to a finish, began to look for a basis for peace. In the *New York Times* for November 1914,[3] Jacob H. Schiff, the late New York financier, began a thoughtful discussion of a future peace, which elicited correspondence from such men as Charles W. Eliot, formerly president of Harvard University, David Starr Jordan of Stanford University, Daniel Jordan of Columbia University, and Lord James Bryce, formerly British ambassador to the United States. In England, George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells were most prominent in peace discussions. These writers generally agreed upon the obstacles to peace. The English writers especially were prepared to urge such points as a League of Nations, universal limitation of armament, security upon the seas, recognition of the principle of nationality and the rights of small nations. In America these notes were sounded feebly, for we were then more concerned in getting our bearings than in determining bases for peace.

Who Caused the War?

Early Discussions of Peace.

In September the first official suggestions of a peace came from United States governmental sources. As a result of some semi-private utterances of Count Bernstorff, the German ambassador, in New York, Secretary of State Bryan asked our representative in Germany, Mr. Gerard, to learn from the German government whether

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[1] The U. S. Senate passed a peace resolution in 1921.

[2] England, the Blue Books; Russia, the Orange Books; Belgium, the Gray Books; France, the Yellow Books; Germany, the White Book; Austria Hungary the Red Books.

[3] N. Y. Times, History of the War, Vol. 1. pp. 459 ff.

the Emperor was desirous of discussing peace. The following reply came from Mr. Gerard, who repeated the German Chancellor's reply from memory:

"Germany was appreciative of the American government's interest and offer of services in trying to make peace. Germany did not want war, but had it forced on her. Even if she defeats France she has likewise to defeat both Great Britain and Russia, as all three have made an agreement not to make peace except by common consent. Similarly, England has announced through Premier Asquith, her diplomats and the newspapers that she intends to fight to the limit of her endurance. In view of that determination on the part of Great Britain, the United States ought to get proposals of peace from the Allies. Germany could accept only a lasting peace, one that would make her people secure against future attacks. To accept mediation now would be interpreted by the Allies as a sign of weakness on the part of Germany and would be misunderstood by the German people, who, having made great sacrifices, had the right to demand guarantees of security."[4]

Phases in Peace Discussions 1915-1918.

This statement that Germany wanted a lasting peace and securities against future attack was only substantially quoting the statement that Lord Grey had made a short time before, and despite the hopes of diplomatists, nothing further was received from any of the warring Powers, and the matter ended without progress. The peace discussions from early in 1915 to the armistice have in reality four phases: (1) The early part of 1915 is given over to general statements by publicists, semiofficial views and brief statements by allied public officials and, less openly, German official statements. (2) This period was followed by a revision of German peace ideas due to the unexpected stubbornness of the Allies and a general reluctance on both sides to give public utterance to peace sentiments. (3) In turn, this period gave way to a more strenuous attempt of the Central Powers to secure a separate peace with France and Russia. Although the terms of this peace had been prepared by the general appeal of Pope Benedict,[5] it should not be understood that the Pope presented his appeal in any other spirit than that in which Secretary of State Lansing had made his inquiry of Germany at an earlier date. (4) The failure of this attempt to close the war was followed by a stiffening of the sinews of all the belligerent Powers as they settled down to the idea of a war to the end. This period lasted nearly to the end of 1916, when in December the German

[4] N. Y. Times Current History, Vol. I, p. 973.
[5] N. Y. Times Current History IV, 1022 ff.

premier, by order of the emperor, presented the now celebrated German suggestion for a peace conference which was at once followed by Wilson's appeal on December 18th to all the belligerents to state their war aims as a preliminary to peace. The failure of this so-called peace drive determined the Germans to play their last card, and the proclamation of the barred zone was handed to our ambassador in Washington on January 31, 1917.[6] This note silenced all discussions of peace and thenceforward until our declaration of war against Germany the problems before the public mind in Europe were the problems of war; while before us arose the menace of armed conflict which daily faced us.

In the discussion of the events of this fourth period, which lasted for such a long time, it will be well to notice the gradual growth of public sentiment toward a peace that would tend to establish itself rather than merely to end the war, the gradual realization that however guilty Germany was in beginning the war, the peace must aim rather at taking away future causes for beginning wars than at punishing the one held guilty in this war. While it must be kept in mind that peace suggestions have been used to hearten the nation and break the morale of the opponent, it will be more worth while to recognize that neutral Powers especially recognized the solidarity of the world rather than their own selfish interests in the pursuit of peace.

German Peace Views.

During the last part of 1914, Gustaf Stoesteen issued what seemed to be a semi-official statement of Germany's peace views. He stated that Germany did not desire to incorporate peoples not speaking the German tongue; that she did desire the reorganization of the European economic situation so that it would be favorable to Germany. Maximillian Harden, the people's advocate, accepted these views, emphasizing the fear which Germany felt that her economic future was imperilled.

In April 1915, Bernard Dernberg, former German colonial secretary, issued a statement that was read at a meeting of German-Americans in Portland, Maine, which constituted the fullest statement of Germany's early aims. He demanded a permanent peace; free open use of the high seas, neutralized by agreement of all the Powers; an open equal economic policy, considering all colonial possessions as independent of their mother state for economic purposes; and the reestablishment of international law, codified and guaranteed

[6] The barred zone included the whole English channel and "the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland." Within this zone all enemy merchant ships were to be destroyed after February 18, 1917. The proclamation contained a warning also for neutral ships. See Part VII, Chapter III.

for the benefit of neutrals. He said that although Germany had no desire for European territory, she could not give up Belgium unless her other demands were complied with. Lastly, Germany demanded a colonial outlet for her population where it need not be expatriated.[7] By his "permanent peace" Dernberg probably meant only a peace that would make Germany secure, not a safeguard for the world but for Germany against her European enemies. The step from this idea to universal peace was, however, short and easily taken. The second demand was that England should lose her naval supremacy, although this demand was naturally placed on the higher ground of freedom for all peoples guaranteed by all the Powers. The demand for an open economic policy [8] was Germany's reiteration that because she was being strangled by Europe there had been necessity for war Incorporated with this demand was the idea that in economic affairs the colonies should be forced to treat all nations alike even though they gave their allegiance to some one state—an open door in economic affairs in all dependencies. Germany acknowledged the breaking of international law, but insisted that her enemies were equally guilty and so must aid in reestablishing international law for the future. In his fifth point, Dernberg gave up for Germany any aim at European aggression but held to Belgium as compensation for Germany in the surrender of any of her other demands. Lastly, Germany made clear her claim to a national imperial policy by demanding a colonial outlet for her surplus population which had increased more rapidly than her territory had grown.

Allied Peace Proposals.

Opposed to this rather elaborate program, the Allies' claims as set forth by Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister and Asquith, the British premier, asked the same kind of permanent peace that Germany asked. They wanted also the recognition of small states, freedom for nationalities to work out their own destinies, and the destruction of Prussian militarism. "We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium receives in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed," declared Asquith, in November 1914.[9] The consistency of the Allied peace aims at this

[7] N. Y. Times Current History III, 279 ff. Expatriated means to lose one's nationality.

[8] An economic policy which would treat all nations alike, under all circumstances.

[9] Asquith was prime minister of England at this time.

time undoubtedly resulted from the early German military successes.

Increased Demands of Germany.

In June 1915, a group of learned Germans presented a petition to the chancellor on the ground that Germany was unlikely to demand strong enough terms. They asked for: the ruin of France and the improvement of Germany's whole west front, the holding of Belgium, all of occupied Russia, possession of Asia Minor, Egypt and the Persian Gulf, the supplanting of Great Britain by German world trade, and an indemnity to cover war expenses and losses. This petition resulted in at least a changed sentiment on the part of the German government, which by the end of 1915 was content to say "peace depends upon when the enemy wants it but the farther off it is put the harder will be its terms."[10]

The Plans of German Socialists.

This hardening of the heart of the German government drew from the German socialists a statement early in 1916. They demanded no conquests, German retention of Alsace-Lorraine, each nation to be allowed to decide for itself in regard to militarism. With these demands the Austrian socialists were in accord. Both groups of socialists demanded that peace should be discussed. This demand brought forth an added statement by Bethmann-Hollweg in April 1916, in which he said that Germany was ready to talk peace whenever the enemy was ready. He added that Germany wanted a peace on the basis of facts, a permanent peace, and one that would not leave Belgium an Anglo-French vassal either in a military or in an economic sense.[11] To this England and France replied that Germany strove to make the Allies ask for peace while allowing Germany to decide the basis; that what the Allies wanted was destruction of Prussian militarism, treaty rights and the defeat of German military control of Europe.

Through the entire year of 1916 both sides viewed peace as impossible without victory for one side, though neither one was able to secure victory. In August 1916, Nauman expressed the first doubt of Germany's ultimate success, and of the possibility of bringing peace without the complete military collapse of either group of Allies.[12] In this same month the German National Peace Commission protested in a memorial against Bethmann-Hollweg's extension of territory to include German conquests of Russia and against his demand for guarantees in territory on the west, and at the same time it demanded the right to discuss peace.[13]

[10] N. Y. Times Current History VI, 642.

[11] N. Y. Times Current History VII, 228.

[12] Nauman is the author of Mittel Europa, a German book of propaganda for colonial expansion.

[13] N. Y. Times Current History VIII, 1066.

About this time came rumors of an attempt of Austria to secure a separate peace. A little later the Germans attempted to make a separate peace with Russia, partly as an answer to Austria's unofficial negotiations in France and partly as the result of a doubt of Germany's ability to win the war. But these attempts were quickly forgotten when on December 12, 1916, the German chancellor, at the request of the Emperor, sent a peace communication to Secretary Lansing. This proposal presented no conditions for peace but asked simply that the President use his good offices to call a peace conference of the belligerents in a neutral state where proposals for peace could be discussed. After the first general excitement the prevailing opinion was that this proposal was meant primarily to hearten the spirits of the people in Germany and Austria. Informally, each of the Allied Powers refused to consider it as more than a war move and the formal reply to the United States, made by Minister Briand of France for the Allies, was that the Allies could not view the proffer as a desire for peace but regarded it rather as a domestic war measure, and hence could not accept the document as having been presented in good faith.

Austrian Attempts for Peace.

Peace Proposals of December 1916.

In the meantime, President Wilson was preparing for a new step. In May 1916, in an address before the League to Enforce Peace, he had stated that "every people shall have the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live", and "that small states have the right of sovereignty and integrity and the world has a right to peace". The conditions of peace, he said, were such a settlement as the belligerents could agree upon and a universal association of nations.

Within a few days after the reception of the German communication,[14] President Wilson requested from each of the belligerents a statement of its war aims, with the expressed hope that such replies might form the basis for negotiations for peace. To this appeal Germany and Austria sent identical replies practically restating the earlier German proposal; namely, the request that delegates be called to sit in a neutral state and there exchange views. The Allied governments summed up their earlier statements, but intimated that the time had not yet come to discuss peace. Their reply stated that the Allies wanted as a basis for negotiation, the evacuation of conquered territory, reorganization of Europe on the basis of nationality, respect for the integrity of small states, reparation and indemnity, and finally the passing of the Turk from Europe. The request of President

The Allied Terms.

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[14] December 20. 1916.

Wilson and the replies from the belligerents brought forth a great deal of discussion which clearly showed that Wilson's suggestion received no favor in either group of belligerents, but that, on the other hand, it was well received by all the neutral Powers with the exception of Spain. It probably went far to convince the Central Powers that there was no hope of success through peace negotiations. Without doubt this realization contributed to their decision to begin the ruthless submarine warfare.

This failure of President Wilson's attempt at making peace closed the fourth period of peace discussion and made it very clear to the neutral Powers that the war must continue until one or the other of the hostile groups was defeated. In America, peace was momentarily lost sight of in the excitement of suddenly finding ourselves at war on the side of the Allies and in the midst of preparation. But the lessons of the earlier period were not forgotten in America, where long forbearance had given these lessons force and where now the American soldier and sailor began their part of the great struggle, impelled by an idealism which gave to the war almost the character of a new crusade.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Early Attempts at Peace

War Cyclopædia, Peace Overtures, German 1916; Peace Overtures, Papal; Peace Terms, American; Lansdowne Note.

International Conciliation Bulletin, January 1917. "Official Documents Looking Toward Peace."

Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary European History, pp. 748-750.

Wilson, Woodrow, Addresses.

New York Times Current History.

Topic for Special Study

Proposals for Peace
International Conciliation Bulletin, January 1917.

CHAPTER II

THE CONSUMMATION OF PEACE PLANS

DURING 1917 two new incentives for peace were added to those of the earlier period. These were the socialist demands which began to find voice in all countries in entire harmony with the national ideal, and the voice of the Russian revolution which, as the months passed, became more and more opposed to the war under the leadership of the Bolshevist group.

The Socialists.

Early in May the German majority socialist leader, Philip Scheidemann, demanded in the Reichstag that the government formulate its peace terms. He stated that the socialists were clear in their position. They desired the integrity of German territory and Germany's economic independence and development. The chancellor, however, declined to answer the request on the ground that such an answer would not be for the good of the country at that time when Germany had definitely launched her submarine attack to end the war. This reply produced a retort from Scheidemann that if the German government continued on its course the time might come when a republic would have to take its place. The socialist movement culminated in a call for an international congress to be held at Stockholm. This gathering was later fathered by the Russian revolutionary government. The Congress was postponed from time to time during the year. The United States refused to give passports to the American delegates and the Sailors' Union refused to carry the English and French delegates. Eventually the Allied nations acting jointly refused to allow their delegates to go to the conference. The Belgian Socialist party on July fifth issued its own peace program, which asked for the dethronement of the Hohenzollern and adherence to the principles of no annexations and no indemnities, explaining, however, that Belgium must be restored by Germany and that by "no annexations" was not meant that Alsace-Lorraine should not be returned to France and the Italian portions of Austria-Hungary to Italy. The party also included in its plan the right of self-determination, that is, the right of any group of people to determine to what state they should give their adherence. It called attention especially to the condition of the peoples of Austria-Hungary who had been asking for justice and for self determination for a hundred years. Later in

The Stockholm Conference.

the year when the German independent socialists had become more bold their leader, Liebknecht, accused the government of toying with imperialism.[1] For this he was imprisoned and the group were silenced.[2]

Erzberger and Peace.

In the latter part of June the party of the center, the Catholics, led by Matthias Erzberger, decided to desert the government and to put forward their peace plans in connection with the socialists.[3] These plans were that the Centrists and Socialists of the Reichstag should labor for peace and mutual understanding as well as for reconciliation, that there should be no forced requisitions of territory and no political, economic or financial demands that were incompatible with the freedom of states. They further asked for freedom of the seas, for a cessation of the economic blockade after the war, and for the establishment of a judicial tribunal for all nations.

The Papal Plea.

This position of the Centrist or Catholic party probably suggested to the pope that the time had come for a renewed attempt at peace. On August 14, 1917, he sent a note to each of the belligerent Powers outlining general terms and conditions of peace. These conditions were: 1. A general decrease of armaments to be made by all nations at the same time. 2. The institution of a court of arbitration under rules to be drawn. 3. Freedom of the seas. 4. No indemnities except perhaps in a few cases by common consent. 5. Reciprocal restoration of occupied territories. 6. The settlement of all territorial questions by conference, taking into account the desires of the peoples. (Here were mentioned as examples, Alsace-Lorraine and the unredeemed parts of Italy and Poland.)

The Central Powers commended the pope's attempt, but made no specific references to their intentions. The Catholic party of Germany accepted the attempt as an honest and worthy endeavor to further peace, and this was the view of the Dutch Catholics. The Allied press and governments generally were skeptical of the pope's motives. The principles were very similar to those put forth by the Catholic party in the Central states and opinion varied as to whether it was in reality propaganda of the Central Powers whose cause the pope had been induced unconsciously to advocate, or whether it was a veiled attempt on the part of the pope to strengthen the temporal power of the church by assuming the leadership of the Catholic peoples

[1] By imperialism is meant the desire of nations to extend their control over other peoples whom they wish to exploit for their own ends.

[2] For the discussion of the British labor party's peace plans see chapter 4.

[3] In European countries the Centrists or party of the Center represent those holding a middle ground in politics; the party of the Right generally represents conservative tendencies and the party of the Left the radical element.

of all Europe. The United States formally answered the pope's note for the Allies, Mr. Lansing briefly stating that we could not act on the suggestion because the statements were too general to base any action upon and because the United States could not trust Germany to make peace in the spirit of the pope's request. This reply elicited a spirited reply from the German socialists, denying that Germany aimed at supporting a government rather than a people and showing clearly the rift that had earlier appeared in German political circles.

In Russia, after the revolution had been accomplished and the new government had been established, the attempt was made to regain touch with the Allies and to secure their approval and aid. In this, Milukoff, the foreign secretary, took active part, sending a note to the Allies stating that Russia's position was in harmony with that of the rest of the Allied group. This action was severely criticised by the Russian socialists who attempted to restate Russia's peace demands. There should be no annexations, no contributions or money demands—that is, no indemnities under any form. There should be no imperialism; the "penalties and guarantees" to be demanded, referred to the reduction of amounts and the establishment of international tribunals. As the provisional government refused to accept this interpretation of the socialists' position, they were soon forced to give place to the Social Democratic party under the leadership of Kerensky, who sought to establish right relations with the Allies and announced himself to be in harmony with the peace desires of the Allied forces as far as they could be stated. Kerensky and the Social Democratic party quickly lost control of the revolution and were replaced by the radical socialists. The new government issued an appeal to the international socialists of all countries to unite in a peace which should be non-imperialistic, and which should be dictated by the radical group. It was at this time that they decided to father the idea of an international socialist congress at Stockholm which was called to meet in May 1917. On May 26, our government sent a note to Russia which summed up the American position. The United States asked for the liberty and self government of all peoples; that wrongs be made right; that each people be allowed to choose its own allegiance; no money payments except to right wrongs; annexations only to permit the free choice of peoples; and a league of nations to guarantee peace.[4] To these France added, on June 5th, the return of Alsace-Lorraine, destruction of militarism, and liberation of oppressed peoples.

Socialist Peace Program in Russia.

The Peace Program of the United States.

[4] N. Y. Times Current History, XII, 49.

These replies were unsatisfactory to Russia. The Socialists moved forward without attempting to carry the Allies with them and declared on June 15, that their real aim was a union of workers against imperialism in all nations who were alike responsible for the war. From this point the new Russian government moved alone on its course and in November presented its plan to all the belligerents. It demanded an armistice of three months to negotiate a peace based on no annexations, no conquests, no indemnities, self-determination, and acceptance by the working classes. The Central Powers alone moved forward with these plans. On December 17, 1917, an armistice was signed for four weeks to be renewed if necessary and breakable by either party on seven days' notice.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Peace negotiations were at once entered into and the peace of Brest-Litovsk was drawn up by the Germans and presented to the Russians. This treaty was significant mainly in its refusal of practically all the Russian principles of peace and in its attempt to secure for Germany the Baltic provinces as well as the commercial exploitation of Russia. It was refused by the Russian government. The army was, however, quickly broken up and the German invasion, which began at once, forced Russia to sign finally in order to save herself. From this point Germany sought strenuously to exclude the eastern front from all discussions of peace with the western Allies, in order to make sure of her retention of the Baltic provinces lying east and north of Poland which she continued to occupy with her armies.

Thus the year closed by the heartening encouragement of the Central Powers, in spite of the failure of the submarine policy and the Allied successes on the western front. The year had, however, caused a great deal of thinking about peace in all countries; the position of the socialists seemed to demand that war aims and conditions of peace be put upon a clearer basis. Especially was this true when the Allied secret treaties with Russia were published by the new Russian government. These publications made it clear that all the Allied states concerned in these treaties had a great deal to explain.

Wilson's Peace Program.

On the other hand, America's entrance into the war had been hailed on all sides, not only for the military aid that she could give but because her entry gave her the clear right to sit in the peace councils to insure a lasting and righteous peace. It was therefore fitting that President Wilson on January 8, 1918, should have set forth the peace program of the Allied Powers in its entirety, in his justly famous

Fourteen Peace Points. In presenting this program President Wilson said, "We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle must run through the whole program I have outlined." "It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.—Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor and everything that they possess."

"The moral climax of this, the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test."

It should be remembered that the United States stood somewhat apart from the Allies.[5] She had made no agreements with any state and she fought by the side of the Allies because of the common enemy and also because she believed in the justness of the Allied cause. Wilson's fourteen points, therefore, were, in a significant sense, the position of the United States only and could become the Allied position only by their acceptance on the part of the other governments. It must be recalled that the United States had been the Allied spokesman on former occasions, hence the world was justified in assuming that the President once again spoke for the Allies. This soon became in fact more than an assumption, for on January 5, Lloyd George expressed a like program of peace to the Trades Union conference, so that it was clear that with respect to the question of the freedom of the seas the British and the American statesmen were in accord.[6]

Perhaps the main contribution of President Wilson was that he expressed his principles in very concrete terms. No new ideas were given but each statement made a specific application of sound principles to the question in hand. The points were as follows: open covenants of peace with no private understandings, and public diplomatic methods; freedom of the seas in peace and war; removal of economic barriers;[7] reduction of armaments; adjustment of colonial

[5] The European states had early in the war bound themselves by the Treaty of London to make peace only as one Power but the U. S. did not become a party to the Treaty of London.

[6] See N. Y. Times, Current History, XIV; 257 ff.

[7] By economic barriers was meant fixing tariff walls against particular states and making special tariff treaties with some states but not with all.

war claims in the interest of the population as well as in the interest of the government concerned; evacuation of Russia; evacuation and restoration of Belgium; restoration of Alsace-Lorraine; restoration of Italian territories; autonomy for peoples of Austria-Hungary; restoration and indemnification of the Balkan states and Roumania; the relinquishment by Turkey of non-Turkish territories and the international control of the Straits; the independence of Poland; a League of Nations.

Open Covenants of Peace.

Here is a definite program of peace, frankly uttered and as comprehensive as it seemed possible to make. With respect to the first point it should be remembered that it opposed the whole past history of diplomacy. It is true that in democratic France, England, and the United States had been developed a sense of responsibility which has generally expressed itself by a refusal to accept the ratification of a treaty except by the representatives of the people. This ratification or presentation for ratification is the public announcement of the foreign policy of the government. There had continued a feeling, however, that since the people are ignorant of foreign affairs, their part is but to ratify a policy set for them by the leaders and put in the form of a treaty. This conception Wilson challenged. His statement placed upon the people the duty and responsibility for foreign policies. It is likely that the terrible consequences of the past few years will make the people question more carefully the foreign policies presented by the governments in the future.

Freedom of the Seas.

In the second point Wilson touched a chord in harmony with the German mind. It is worth while to notice, however, that the Germans were particularly interested in the war blockade and not in peace conditions. They were also particularly concerned with matters relating to Germany and not to the neutral states. Germany was to the American mind a far greater sinner against the freedom of the seas than was England in the early part of the war. In times of peace we have never considered the English navy a menace, and Wilson primarily meant in his "freedom of the seas", the continued freedom of peace times during war periods. There was, of course, a second idea present. The great navy of England had at least furnished Germany an excuse for her naval rivalry, not as a defense measure but as a means of offense. Thus, just as armies were to be reduced on land to strengthen peace so navies should be reduced to the same extent and for the same purpose. This view did not apply so readily in England which has maintained, owing to its position, a navy as a defense in place of an army. England has always

compared her navy to continental armies as a defense measure. There is perhaps some point in this contention, since Germany has been wholly immune from British naval attack by her defense measures independently of her navy, although her commerce was at once destroyed.

Removal of Economic Barriers.

In his third point, it is clear that President Wilson had in mind, first, the work of reconstructing economic affairs and that of giving confidence to the warring Powers. The Allies had threatened, in a conference held in Paris, to carry on the economic war after the signing of peace, a threat that Germany especially viewed with alarm. In his address Wilson gave notice that he would not sanction the Allied agreement, saying that time had shown the unwisdom of such action. He, however, was not prepared to withdraw altogether the possibility of such a consequence if Germany refused to make peace in the right spirit. Of course Wilson intended to make this principle apply to peace times. That the war was largely the result of false economic conditions was already conceded and understood. Such a condition of affairs must be remedied if peace was to be kept when once made. This problem was naturally left to the international commission charged with the supervision of international economic questions arising out of the war. The League of Nations was expected eventually to establish its findings as a part of the international law of the world and to reach some basis of equity to all peoples. This is one of the most fertile subjects touched upon by Wilson and the most difficult of adjustment.

Adjustment of Colonial Claims.

It is but fair to read the fourteen articles in the light of the events which brought them forth. When the address was presented in January, 1918, President Wilson had no intention of raising questions of policy between the Allies. In the fifth article he could have had no intention of bringing in colonial questions not produced by the war. Primarily he had in mind the settlement of those enemy territories with which the peace must be concerned. There was to be no seizure of enemy colonies in order to share them among the Allies. Rather, the disposal of such territories should follow the principles laid down in this article. Great Britain had declared in January, 1917, that the German colonies should not be returned to Germany after the war. The British labor party had declared that not only the German colonies of Africa but all tropical parts of the continent should be placed under the authority of an international commission. This idea grew during 1917 and was regarded as a most important element of peace conditions. Thus, this statement was merely the expression of a view that had become quite

general by 1918, when it was recognized that colonial affairs were among the most provocative questions of war or peace that could come before the peace congress.

Evacuation of Russia, and other Territorial Adjustments.

The sixth article, regarding the evacuation of Russia; the seventh, regarding the Belgium settlement; and the eighth, regarding Alsace-Lorraine and Northern France, were already clear and needed no explanation. This was also true of article eight, regarding the Italian lands of Austria-Hungary, and of article eleven, regarding Roumania and the Balkan states, although the practical question of settling the boundaries would necessarily prove a difficult matter.

Autonomy in Austria-Hungary.

In article ten, the demand that the nationalities of Austria should have the fullest and freest autonomy,[8] was eventually replaced by a war measure which recognized the right of independence of these nationalities. This measure had been advised for a long time by the Frenchman, André Chéradame, as a strategic measure and it was finally accepted when the Bolshevist agreement with Germany left a strong force of Czecho-Slovak troops in Siberia, which by this policy became an effective Allied force. It should also be remembered that President Wilson had already adopted a policy of conciliation toward Austria-Hungary which was not entirely dropped when war was declared against her, although this conciliatory feeling was not held by the British or French.

The Turkish Problem.

The President was not so sure of his ground in the twelfth article, in which he tried to deal with the Turkish problem. Here, too, he probably had a diplomatic aim rather than that of a final settlement, and it may be doubted whether he had given as much attention to this matter as was really needed for a useful and lasting treaty.

An Independent Poland.

The thirteenth article, regarding an independent Poland, had been discussed many times and had been accepted both in Russia and among the Allies; hence it could receive no opposition except in Germany. However, the Pope had intimated the need for such a peace settlement and both Germany and Austria, especially the latter, had commended the Pope's terms.

A League of Nations.

The last article, on the League of Nations, in principle was already quite generally accepted though there was very strong doubt as to its being practicable.

The fourteen articles proved to be the final development of peace

[8] President Wilson's purpose at this time was to demand local self government for Bohemians, Croats, Poles, Serbs, etc., within Austria instead of making these nationalities independent of Austria.

ideas among the Allies. They presented such sound principles of peace and were applied so fairly that with a few exceptions they were wholeheartedly accepted. The Central Powers, on the other hand, commended the peace principles underlying the fourteen points, yet by their tone, as well as by discussion, announced that they found no possibility of peace in them. The German Chancellor's frank statement that Germany could not admit the discussion of the eastern frontier in the future peace congress left no doubt, if there had been any, of the character of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. Clear also was the statement that Belgium and northern France were to be used as pawns in the coming peace, while Poland and her problems were to be settled by Germany, Austria, and Poland, not by a peace congress.

Influence of the Fourteen Points.

The Austrian answer was very similar to the German note and although President Wilson seemed to feel a difference in the replies, the difference was one of tone and not of statement. The Austrian reply was rather more polite and diplomatic, as was natural, but it showed no real difference in attitude.

Thus, after more than three years of war, its issues had been made clear to all thoughtful men. What in America had been dimly felt now became more clear. There was no tendency to blame Germany less for precipitating the war; it was understood that what she had done would be done again unless the old system was destroyed. The roots of the war were seen to have gone back into the past for a hundred years and each root was charged with life to such a degree that to be rid of the causes meant the tearing out of these roots, one and all. This was the aim of President Wilson's program. It became clear that much of the newer fabric that had been woven into the old Europe had followed the old pattern which was altogether faulty. Thus, all the splendid work of the Industrial Revolution, with its intended blessings for mankind, had failed to realize its fullest fruitage and had been used to perpetuate the old weaknesses of the state.

But it also became clear that the progress of a hundred years still lay at the mercy of individual men whose ambitions could be wholly apart from those of the people. Nothing, perhaps, brought this out so clearly as the terrible policy of frightfulness adopted by the German imperial leaders. It was a policy that mocked at civilization, to accomplish its ends. In every feature it was the barbarism of the past, the cold, logical determination to secure desired ends by deliberately ignoring the suffering of the people, or rather, perhaps, by purposely discovering new methods of increasing that suffering in order to hasten the desired ends. It was when this fact forced its way into our con-

sciousness in spite of our incredulity and disbelief, that the issue of democracy became clear, and that we were able to realize that Germany in her methods of frightfulness, through the direction of irresponsible rulers, had renewed and emphasized for us the most terribly barbaric pages of history.

It thus becomes clear that to understand the issues of this war and this peace one must trace them backward, discover their settings and then apply to them the teachings, material and spiritual, which humanity has evolved in the attempt to direct its course upward.

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CHAPTER III

THE CONCLUSION OF THE ARMISTICE

THERE were two series of events that forced the Germans to think of peace in terms other than those of Empire. One series was military. Although knowing full well that it must drive the United States into the war, the Germans had begun submarine warfare in the belief that it would succeed. They thought that if the attention of the United States could be directed toward Mexico long enough and strongly enough, her entrance would be too late to affect the decision, and they, therefore, encouraged the intrigues in this country and Mexico. To the German mind, this was a war measure purely and simply. The year 1917 proved clearly, even to the Germans, that the submarine warfare had failed of its purpose. It had been successful enough to maintain strong popular hopes of final success, but although the German people still believed in it, the leaders knew it had failed. There was left for them one further attempt. The submarine war had forced the United States into the ranks of the Allies and Germany knew, that if the war were to be won, it must be won before the American forces could be put into the field in effective numbers. It was this knowledge that forced the decision for the last great drive. It was Germany's last chance of success and upon it depended fortune or failure. It is not necessary to trace its course here. How nearly it succeeded, how desperate was the case of the Allies, is clear when one remembers how the comparatively few men whom the Americans could put into the field seemed to turn the tide for the Allied victory. Marshal Foch, the great Allied commander, has already told the world just how necessary were the American forces for that success. At any rate, the defeats at Chateau-Thierry and Vimy Ridge destroyed Germany as an offensive military power. How much she could still do as a defensive power the Allies did not yet know.

Germany's Last Drive.

The other series of events which led to Germany's acceptance of peace are not so easily portrayed. Those events are important because of their effects upon the German people. President Wilson, very soon after our entrance into the war, had drawn a distinction between the people of Germany and their rulers. This did not mean that he thought the German people were not behind the government in the war. It was the

Internal Dissatisfaction in Germany.

application of psychology to practical affairs. The German people were war tired. That success was needed to maintain their spirit is seen in the published speeches of the chancellor before the Reichstag as well as in the public reports of the military authorities. The president had the advantage of knowing that there was an appreciable group of socialists under the leadership of Liebknecht who were not in sympathy with the war and who held the government responsible for it.

In Austria, too, the time had come to make a strong distinction. The success of Austria-Hungary and Germany meant the riveting of the chains about the Czecho-Slovak and the Jugo-Slav and all the dissatisfied groups within the empire. For a long time attention had been called to the possibility of some success through propaganda designed to give heart to these oppressed peoples of Austria-Hungary. The Bolshevist revolution made the opportunity and the Allied recognition of the two groups opened the way for the overthrow of Austria as a military power. Trust in Austria's troops, never very strong in Germany, now disappeared. Austria-Hungary was slowly driven to defeat without a military offensive. The full effect of the Russian revolution upon Germany has yet to be guessed at. That it strengthened the Socialist party and made it an aggressive factor in government is entirely clear. Already in May 1917, Scheidemann, the leader of the party, had demanded to know Germany's war aims from the chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. Already the independent wing of the socialists had dared to declare in the Reichstag that it might become necessary to proclaim a republic. "We regard a republic as a coming inevitable development in Germany. History is now marching with seven league boots. The German people indeed have shown incredible patience. The Reichstag must have the right to a voice in the conclusion of alliances, peace treaties and declarations of war. The imperial chancellor must be dismissed when the Reichstag demands it."[1]

Dissatisfaction in Austria.

There was a demand for constitutional reform, for the abolition of the Prussian House of Lords, and for the destruction of military power which the socialists declared was responsible for the war. When the chancellor announced that reform must be postponed until after the war, both Socialists and National Liberals joined in a protest, and by a very large majority voted to appoint a committee to consider the subject.

The Influence of Socialists in Germany.

In July came the union of Socialists and churchmen on a program of peace, that so far had found no other expression in Germany. This

[1] Quoted in N. Y. Times Current History XI, p. 302.

union left the government with a minority. The order of the emperor, commanding the chancellor to draw up a program of political reform to be put at once before the Prussian deputies, did not change the situation. In the end the chancellor was forced to resign, probably because he was at heart convinced of the necessity of these reforms, while the military leaders were directly opposed to them. Whatever the reason for his fall, the fact remained that public sentiment made it impossible for the government to continue its policy of suppressing all who spoke for political reform. A temporary solution was found in the adoption of an expressed war aim which made it possible for the socialists under the leadership of Philip Scheidemann to join hands with the government for the defense of German territory as it had stood in 1914. This attempted alliance did not, however, stop the progress of socialist opposition. Many of the regular socialists joined the Independents and by secret organizations continued the work of undermining the government and the military authorities. The attempted general strike on May day, 1917, the meeting and revolt of the sailors at Kiel, were manifestations of the spirit of rebellion which grew steadily until the great military disasters gave it the whip hand to force peace and overthrow the government.[2]

Surrender of Bulgaria.

Another event which enabled Germany to realize the course of events and which destroyed the hopes of the militarists was the defeat and surrender of Bulgaria on September 30, 1918. On September 16, the Allied armies began their last offensive in the Balkans. Within two weeks, the Bulgarian forces were hopelessly defeated and demanded aid of Germany and Austria-Hungary which neither could give. As a result the Bulgarian government asked an armistice of the commander of the Allied forces, General d'Esperey. The terms were drawn up and signed on September 30, 1918. Bulgaria agreed to evacuate all territory outside her own boundaries, to demobilize her armies, and to surrender all transport facilities to the Allies. She gave the Allies free passage through her territories, and occupation of the strategic centers. Territorial questions were omitted from the armistice and it was agreed that Bulgaria was to make a complete military surrender. King Ferdinand abdicated on October 4, 1918, in favor of his son, Boris, who carried out the terms of the armistice. The surrender of Bulgaria destroyed all hopes of Turkey remaining in the field and opened Austria to attack upon her southern border. On the very day on which the Bulgarian armistice was signed, Prince

[2] The preliminary account of this socialist movement in Germany is told by Joseph Danziger, a war correspondent, who remained in Germany when the United States declared war. See N. Y. Times Current History for June, 1919.

Maximilian of Baden succeeded Count von Hertling as chancellor of Germany, and, in conjunction with Austria-Hungary, began an effort for peace. On September 27, President Wilson had addressed a meeting in New York City in which he stated the issues of the war. These issues he summarized as follows:

The Issues of the War.

"Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations, be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

"Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations, and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

"Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

"Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

"Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?"[3]

He went on to say that he was prepared to give details to his general terms and outlined them as follows:

1. "The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice which plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.

2. No special or separate interest of any single nation or group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

3. There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

4. And more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by the exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself, as a means of discipline and control.

5. All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

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[3] N. Y. Times Current History, Nov., 1918, p. 251 ff.

Germany is constantly intimating the 'terms' which she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing."[4]

On October 4, 1918, Prince Max sent to President Wilson through the Swiss embassy the following note:

German Request for an Armistice.

"The German government requests the President of the United States to take in hand the restoration of peace, acquaint all the belligerent states with this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations.

"It accepts the program set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress on January 8, and in his later pronouncements, especially his speech of September 27, as a basis for peace negotiations.

"With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, the German government requests the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air."[5]

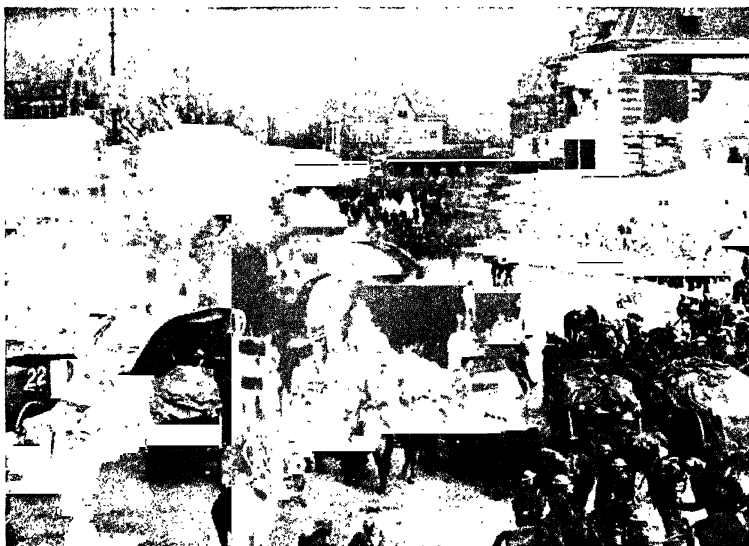
This note was explained to the Reichstag the next day and a communication sent to the Austro-Hungarian government, which approved of the proceedings. President Wilson answered this note by asking a series of questions of the German government of which the first was, whether the German government was prepared to accept the address to Congress of January 8, and subsequent addresses. Thus, the object of entering into negotiations would be to agree upon the practical details of their application. Second, the President inquired whether the Imperial Chancellor spoke for the German nation or for the government which had so far conducted the war. He added that he could not propose to his colleagues a cessation of arms so long as German armies were upon the soil of those Allies.

Wilson's Reply to Germany's Request.

To this reply the German government answered that they were prepared to accept the statements of the President as to peace and to discuss only the method of applying them; that the Central Powers were prepared to give up all Allied territories before the negotiations; and that the German government which had undertaken the negotiations was in accord with the majority of the Reichstag in its decisions.

To this note President Wilson replied by quoting a paragraph from his Mount Vernon speech of July 4, 1918: "The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 251-254
[5] *Ibid*, p. 242.

presently destroyed, at least its reduction to impotency." He declared that these words constituted a condition of peace and that the Allied governments must know with whom they were dealing, and further, that no negotiations could be begun while the submarines of the Central Powers were continuing their unlawful depredations upon the seas, and while armies in the course of their withdrawal were committing acts of wanton destruction. "The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being con-

DUSSELDORF, GERMANY'S FOREMOST INDUSTRIAL CENTRE ON THE RHINE—IN THE HANDS OF THE ALLIES.

tinued which they justly looked upon with horror, and with burning hearts." To Austria the President sent a separate note in which he demanded that it accept the amendment of article ten of his fourteen articles of peace which would permit the peoples of Austria-Hungary to decide for themselves their future relation to that state.

To these statements of Mr. Wilson, the Central Powers agreed and Germany declared that a change was being made in the German government which would comply with the President's demand that negotiations be carried on with representatives of the people. President Wilson had kept in close touch with the Allied govern-

ments during the period of negotiations and on November 4, the terms of the German armistice were arranged by the Allied commissioners.

Signing of the Armistice.

The following day the German government sent a commission headed by Matthias Erzberger, the leader of the Central party in the Reichstag. The delegation received from Marshal Foch the armistice terms at Rethondes on November 8, and were asked to accept or reject them within seventy-two hours. A request for a cessation of hostilities was refused. On November 11 at five o'clock in the morning the armistice was signed and six hours later the fighting ceased on the western front. In the meantime the Austrian armistice had been signed on November 3 to go into effect immediately.

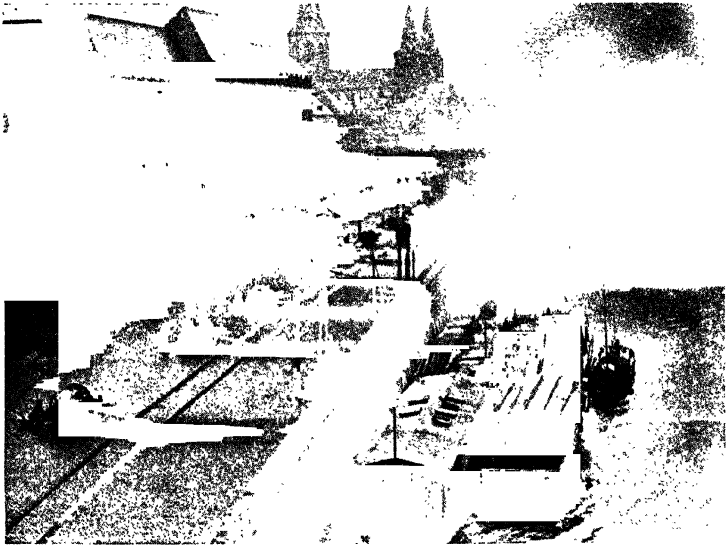
The armistice terms were drastic because it was felt in the Allied camp that no possible means should be left to Germany to begin the war again. This was the more necessary because the internal affairs of Germany were in such a chaotic state. If dissatisfaction with the peace terms should cause the military power in Germany again to secure control of the German state, they must be entirely disarmed in order to prevent a recurrence of the war.

In general the terms were as follows:

I. Military provisions

1. The cessation of fighting six hours after the signing of the armistice.
2. The immediate evacuation of invaded countries to be completed in fourteen days.
3. The return of all the inhabitants of invaded countries within fifteen days, to include hostages, persons under trial or convicted.
4. Surrender of a given number of guns of all kinds and air planes specified.
5. Evacuation of the German country on left bank of the Rhine, within sixteen days, together with the territory immediately in front of the bridge heads at Mayence, Coblenz, and Cologne.
6. In the evacuation of territory care shall be taken not to destroy property, or take the inhabitants for any reason. Stores of food for civil population to be left

intact and all military stores not removed within the allotted time shall be turned over to Allies.

7. All roads and means of communication of every kind shall not be impaired. The German government must hand to the Allies a specified number of locomotives, wagons, motor lorries. Further within thirty-one days the entire pre-war equipment of Alsace-Lorraine personal and material.

Daily Mirror BRITISH PEACE SALUTE AT COLOGNE.

8. Germany must reveal all mines, etc., on evacuated territories and reveal all poisoned or polluted springs and wells.

9. The Allies to have the right of requisition in occupied German lands and the upkeep of the troops shall be charged to the German government.

10. The return of *all* Allied prisoners of war, the return of German prisoners to be regulated at the conclusion of peace preliminaries.

11. Sick and wounded Germans in evacuated territory to be cared for by German personnel.

II. Eastern front

12-13. The German evacuation of all lands on the east front beyond the frontiers of August 1, 1914, at the time fixed by the Allies.

14. German troops to cease at once all requisitions in the occupied territories.

15. Germany to renounce the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the treaty of Bucharest and subsequent treaties.

16. Allies to have free access to evacuated territories.

III. East Africa

17. Germany to evacuate all territory in East Africa.

IV. General clause

18. Return of all interned civilians of any status (other than those enumerated under article 3).

19. Financial conditions—The immediate restitution of specie, documents, stocks, paper money, etc., to the peoples of the invaded districts. The return of Russian and Roumanian gold, to be delivered to the Allies in trust until the signing of peace. No removal of public securities by the enemy which can serve as a pledge for repair or recovery of war losses.

V. Naval conditions

20. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea. Information as to location and movements of all German ships, and free navigation to Allied ships and neutrals of all territorial waters.

21. Return of all Allied naval prisoners.

22. Surrender of all submarines with their equipment.

23. The disarming and internment of German warships specified by Allies.

24. The Allied Powers to have right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions outside territorial waters, Germany to indicate their positions.

25. Freedom of access to Baltic to be given Allied ships and allied forces to occupy forts, etc., at all entrances into Baltic.

26. Existing blockade to be kept up but the Allied governments to supply Germany with necessary food.

27. Naval air craft to be immobilized.
28. All ships in ports and rivers of Belgium to be left in place.
29. Germany to evacuate all Black sea ports, hand all Russian war ships to Allied Powers, and all German war and other materials specified in article 28.
30. Germany to restore all Allied merchant vessels.
31. No destruction of ships or materials before evacuation, surrender or restoration.
32. Germans to notify neutrals of the withdrawal of all restrictions of any kind regarding shipping or trade.
33. Germany may not transfer merchant shipping to neutral flag after armistice.

VI. Duration of armistice

34. The armistice to last thirty days with option to extend. (Only failure to execute articles 3 or 18 shall not warrant denunciation of armistice.)

VII. Limit for reply

35. Germany must accept or refuse the armistice within seventy-two hours of notification. These terms were amended to give the Allied Powers authority to occupy the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine from Cologne to Holland if they should deem it advisable. The armistice was extended on December 14 to January 17, 1919, and it was agreed that it would then be extended until the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace.

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Topic for Special Study

Why Germany Signed the Armistice

German White Book, Text of the Armistice with Germany; See Appendix, also Current History Magazine, Vol. 9, part 1, 355-373. December 1918; The Austro-Hungarian Armistice, Nation (Magazine) 108: 525-6, April 5, 1919.

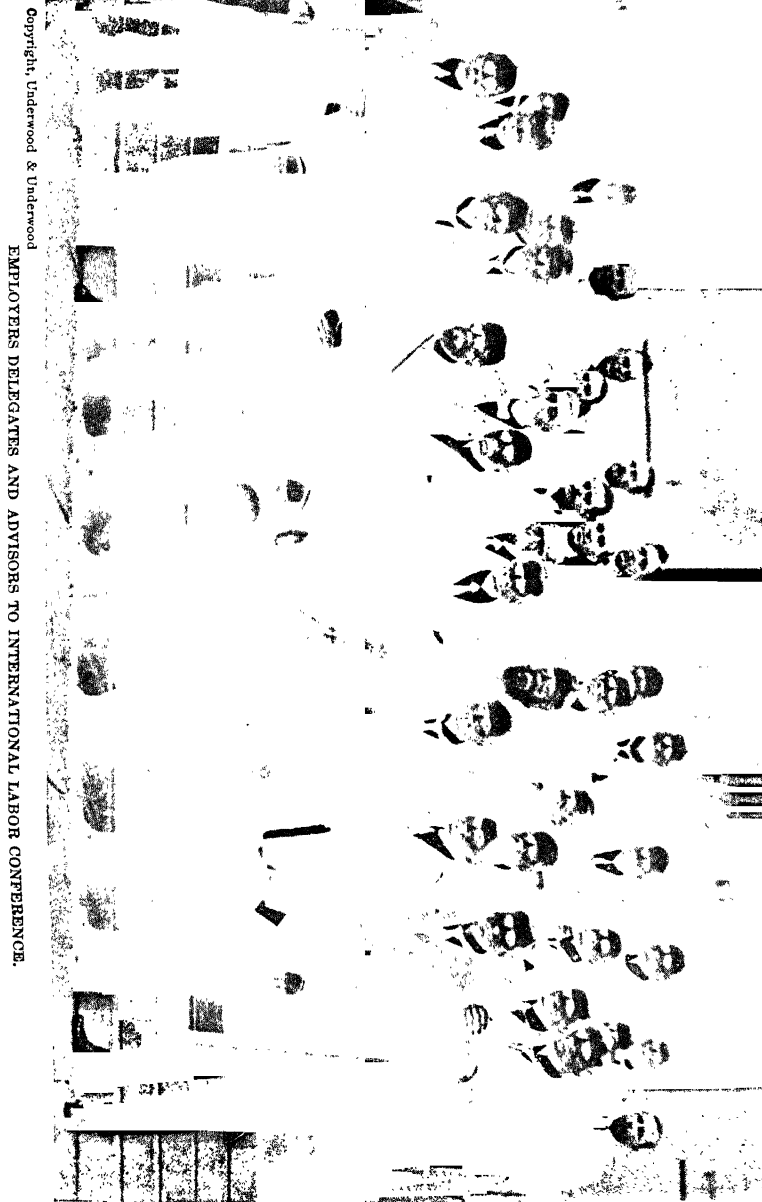
CHAPTER IV

LABOR'S PEACE VIEWS

In order to understand the attitude of labor and those interested in labor problems, especially in regard to world problems of labor, a short historical sketch should be made of attempts to bring about some mutual program for labor legislation by international agreement. There have been three definite periods of such attempts to unite labor: (1) Before the Great War; (2) During the War; and (3) Since the War. The first of these attempts by individuals or governments to bring about international action in regard to labor was at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818 when Robert Owen, the English philanthropist appeared and suggested certain labor reforms. Since that time other efforts have been made. In 1890, the question was much discussed in France and this, with other suggestions, led to the conference which was summoned in March 1890 by the German Emperor to meet at Berlin and discuss common action by the nations on certain industrial questions,—child and woman labor, Sunday work, etc. This was the first of four conferences held prior to the war. The others were conferences at Berne in 1905, in 1906, in 1913. The delegates at the conference at Berne in 1905 drew up plans to be formulated into a final treaty at a later diplomatic conference. At the conference at Berne in 1906 seven countries signed an agreement for the prohibition of the use of white or yellow phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. The enforcement of labor treaties was left to the authorities in each of the countries signing the agreement.

(1) International Labor Organizations before 1914.[1]

Prior to the world war there had been several international associations formed on the part of labor in order to establish, if possible, a mutual labor program for the national labor organizations of the countries represented. The first of these international movements was the so-called Socialist International. It dates from 1864 when Karl Marx organized a group of radicals in London into an organization known as the International Working Men's Association. It lived

[1] For detailed study see Monthly Labor Review for April 1919, pp. 1-11; also Bulletin 254, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Historical Survey of International Action Affecting Labor, Bulletin, 268, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

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EMPLOYERS DELEGATES AND ADVISORS TO INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE.

from 1864 to 1873, and was revived in 1889 at Paris. The last conference of the *Socialist International* before the war was held at Copenhagen in 1910 with delegates from thirty-three nations present.[2] The major program of the International is quite in keeping with liberal ideas today in all political parties in civilized countries of the Western World. The resolutions of this Congress of the Socialist International were not as radical as the name Socialist would lead one to expect. They demanded: (1) a maximum working day of 8 hours; (2) prohibition of employment of children under fourteen; (3) prohibition of night work; (4) uninterrupted rest of 36 hours once a week as a minimum of all workers; (5) unrestricted right of free combination and association of workers; (6) inspection of working conditions by authorized agencies or commissions upon which labor is represented. Politically they asked for the ultimate abolition of armaments of all kinds and secret diplomacy.[3] This revived organization has had ten international conferences. In addition to the International there has been the International Socialists' Bureau with headquarters at Brussels. This was established in 1900 and annual meetings have been held more or less frequently since 1904.

Another attempt at international labor organization before the recent war resulted in the formation of the International Federation of Trades Unions which included representatives of the American Federation of Labor, the General Commission of German Trade Unions, The French General Confederation of Labor, and the General Federation of Trades Unions of Great Britain, and other trade union organizations. The British Trades Unions Congress did not participate in its meetings. It was entirely distinct from the Socialist International which had headquarters at Brussels.

Besides the organizations also described there have been other international organizations composed of interested groups outside the labor movement, which have had at heart the cause of labor reform. Chief of these is the International Association for Labor Legislation, which was formed in 1900 at Paris by a group of economists meeting at the Paris Exposition. This organization perfected in 1901 a permanent international labor office and has been supported since 1913 by funds appropriated in some cases by some nineteen of the governments represented. It has drawn up legislation for world adoption in such matters as the prohibition of night work for women and chil-

[2] A special congress was held at Basel, Switzerland in 1912.

[3] Some of the provisions of the resolutions drawn up at Copenhagen were typical of the claims of Socialists and were radical in their charges. The entire program may be found in Bulletin, 268, U. S. Department of Labor, 219-221.

dren; the use of the dangerous white or yellow phosphorus in match manufacturing; administration of labor laws; protection of workmen from accident and disease; weekly rest day; and hours of labor in continuous industries. Prior to the close of the war, this association submitted resolutions which it wished inserted in the treaty of the league of nations. Included in the labor legislation proposed for international sanction were the establishment of fourteen years as a minimum age of employment in industry and in the case of miners, sixteen years; Sunday rest for all workers; prohibition of use of poisonous substances where substitutes exist; the employment of safety devices for railroad employees; legalizing of free association and combination of workers and collective bargaining and the protection of immigrant labor and the adoption of uniform official reports concerning the enforcement of labor laws.

(2) Labor During the War.

During the war the various labor and socialist organizations of Western Europe drew up programs for adoption at the Peace Conference at the close of the war. The American Federation of Labor at its fall convention at Philadelphia in 1914 passed resolutions recommending an international conference, to sit at the same time with the Peace Conference. It drew up similar resolutions at its conventions in 1915 and 1916. The French General Confederation of Labor and the Union of Swiss labor unions separately proposed similar conferences during the spring of 1917.

The Stockholm Conference.

Arthur Henderson, the secretary of the British labor party and Labor member of the British cabinet in 1917, was sent by the British government to Petrograd to see if he could not improve the relations with the labor and the socialist elements in Russia. He learned that the Russian revolutionary government had made up its mind to hold an International Socialist Congress at Stockholm, Sweden. A committee of neutral socialists with Branting, a former member of the Swedish cabinet, as chairmen and Huysmans, at one time a member of the Belgian cabinet as secretary, associated themselves in the call for such a conference. The purpose of the Stockholm Congress was to see if the various labor and socialist organizations of Europe could not bring about peace and form a common agreement regarding peace terms after the war. It was planned that delegations from the Allies, the Central Powers, and neutrals should confer to obtain these ends. The attitude of British labor had hitherto been unalterably opposed to such a conference but now on Henderson's recommendation it voted in favor of taking part in the Stockholm conference for the exchange of views though it was defi-

nitely understood that it would be of no binding effect upon the representatives of the allied countries.[4]

The French socialists also decided to accept the invitation. The convention was to meet September 9, 1917; but before that time the British government forced Henderson's resignation as a member of the cabinet, and the British, French, Italian, Japanese, and American governments refused passports to permit labor organizations to send representatives. The allies felt that the German socialists would control the policies at Stockholm.

The organizing committee of the Stockholm conference made up of Dutch, Belgian, and Scandinavian socialists drew up a manifesto regarding the peace plans for this conference. Among the things which this manifesto advocated, were: no annexations and no indemnities; a League of Nations with the principles of disarmament and compulsory education as fundamental, a vote of the people of Alsace-Lorraine to settle that question; free Poland, restoration of Belgium by Germany; an independent Finland and the guaranty of political equality for Ireland with England. The Stockholm conference [5] failed.

The War Aims of British Labor.

Of all the programs drawn up by labor and socialist organizations the most famous is that put forth by British labor at a conference held at London, December, 1917.[6] This conference was held December 28, 1917 and was composed of representatives from the British Trade Union Congress and the British Labor party. The program adopted may be divided into six parts:[7]

1. The War. 2. Making the world safe for democracy. 3. Territorial adjustment. 4. Economic relations. 5. Problems of Peace. 6. Restoration and Reparation. Under (1) The War, the conference declared that it saw no reason to diverge from the declaration of the

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[4] In January, 1917, the British Labor Party at its convention had voted against such a conference. March 1917, it had also refused to take part in a conference of Allied socialists to meet in Paris, and, in May of that year, it had refused the invitation of the neutral Dutch-Scandinavian committee to have a share in the consultations at Stockholm. It had declined a similar invitation of Russian workers for a conference in Russia.

[5] For Manifesto of the Stockholm Conference, see N. Y. Times, Oct., 1919, p. 1, col. 5; see also Literary Digest 54: 1842.

[6] This conference discussed the war aims. For the program known as Labor and the New Social Order, see Part VI, Chapter IV, of the present work.

[7] The full program at the December conference of British Labor Party and the British Trade Union Congress may be found in International Conciliation Bulletin 123, or Appendix I of Kellogg and Gleason, British Labor and the War. For British Labor's address to the Russian People, see International Conciliation Bulletin 123, 86-88. For the platform of the British Labor Party in the election of December, 1918, see Kellogg and Gleason, British Labor and the War.

conference held by the socialist and labor parties of the Allied nations, February 14, 1915; that the British labor party intended to get into the fight until victory was won but that they were opposed "to any attempt to transpose this defensive war into a war of conquest." Under (2) Making the world safe for democracy, they demanded that there should be no economic war after this war; the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism; the suppression of secret diplomacy and the placing of the control of the foreign policy under the control of the legislative body; concerted action for the abolition of armaments in all countries; abolition of profit making armament firms; establishment of a league of nations as a part of the treaty; and the gradual development of international legislatures. Under (3) Territorial adjustments, they discussed the question of Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, the Balkans, Italy, Poland, the Jews and Palestine, and the problems of the Turkish empire and of the colonies of tropical Africa. They claimed that no imperialistic plans would be tolerated and the present colonies of every country should be transferred to a proposed international authority. Under (4) Economic relations, they declared for no economic war when peace had been secured; freedom of the seas; opposition to economic barriers such as tariffs, trusts, and the conservation and development by appropriate government action of the resources of each country "for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world." They further demanded the enforcement by international agreements of labor and factory legislation to protect the laborers against exploitation, and the prohibition of night work for women and children. Under (5) The problems of peace, they proposed that the food stuffs and raw materials of the world should be distributed on the principle that there should be "no cake for anyone till all have bread"; there should be prevention of unemployment by national means; and the government should execute building plans as relief legislation. Under (6) the restoration of the devastated areas and reparation of the wrong-doing, they advocate the rebuilding of the devastated homes, etc., as soon as possible. The wage earner should have homes and own them and so far as the cost of the war has been contributed by international funds, it should be made under the direction of an international commission and a demand that there should be a full and free judicial investigation of the war cruelties.

War Aims of British Labor, December, 1917.

Similar resolutions were drawn up in the latter part of February, 1918, at a meeting held in London in which the labor-socialist delegates

drew up their terms of peace. This was attended by delegates from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium.

In addition to the terms mentioned in the December program of British labor, the Allied conference called for an international conference of socialists and labor to meet in a neutral country to discuss the issue of the war; that all parties represented should stand out for the purpose "no annexations or punitive indemnities;" and the right of all peoples to self-determination; that a committee be appointed to secure at least one representative of the working classes of each nation of the peace conference. This committee was made up of Albert Thomas,[8] France; Émile Vandervelde, Belgium; and Arthur Henderson, Great Britain. Resolutions were adopted, stating that the absence of the American delegates was regretted, and that steps should be taken to obtain their approval and the terms of the conference should be submitted to the Central Powers.[9]

French Labor's War Aims.

The General Confederation of Labor of France, prior to the war had 400,000 members. At the close of the war, its membership had increased to 1,400,000. In November 1918, the General Confederation of Labor at the request of the French government issued a minimum program to be submitted to a commission on labor at the peace conference. It was a reiteration of the principles drawn up by the General Confederation in its various national conferences since 1915. Its program of reconstruction is quite like that of British labor in its war aims and its new social order. It favored a league of nations; no economic boycott after the war; restoration of constitutional liberties. It demanded the establishment of a national economic council in which labor organizations shall have representation that "the rebuilding of the cities, communes, and factories" should take place "in accordance with principles of hygiene of health, and of beauty." It stated in another division of the program that organized labor should have its rightful place in the direction and administration of national production; that economic reorganization should have as its basis the uninterrupted development and the unlimited diffusion of general and technical knowledge; that it favored using all means to develop personal talent and private initiative; to make the best use possible of all material re-

[8] Albert Thomas was after the war made secretary of the International Labor Bureau which was established at the International Labor Conference at Washington during the fall of 1919. He has charge of the work of this bureau in drafting labor legislation for international action.

[9] For full text of Inter-allied Socialist Labor Agreement, see Kellogg and Gleason, British Labor and the War, Appendix I; N. Y. Times Current History, VII, part I, pp. 106-114.

sources; and was opposed to any voluntary restriction of production.[10] Similar programs were drawn up by labor or socialist organizations in other European countries.[11]

During the war even before America's entrance, the American Federation of Labor was very much interested in what might be the outcome, especially so far as labor was concerned. For this reason an American labor delegation was sent to Europe to study the problem. This delegation consisted of eighteen members appointed by the American Federation of Labor. James Wilson, president of the Pattern-makers League of North America, was the president of the American delegation. Speeches were made in London and in Paris by the Americans during the spring of 1918 in which it was said that there would be no peace until Germany is downed; that American labor would not agree to a conference with the enemy until the defeat of German autocracy.

American Labor Mission in Europe.

As a result of the various conferences of labor organizations throughout European countries which requested that the Peace Conference should invite labor to participate officially in its meetings, the peace conference arranged for permanent legislation regarding labor conditions. A commission on international labor was appointed by the peace conference January 1, 1919. This commission was composed of two representatives from the five Great Powers and five representatives elected by the other powers represented in the peace conference.

(3) Labor After the War.

This commission arranged for the permanent organization for the promotion of international labor conditions and this organization was to be divided into two parts,—the organization of the general conference made up of representatives from each of the contracting parties in the lead, and the representatives of the government, one labor and one employer. Each delegate was to vote as an individual and the meetings were to be held at the seat of the League of Nations or any place appointed by two-thirds of the members. The first meeting was held in Washington, October 1919. The second part consists of the organization of an international labor office with a president at the head of the

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[10] For full statement see Monthly Labor Review, March 1919, 75-78. An interesting comparison might be made of similar ideas in the programs of British and French Labor and in President Wilson's Fourteen Points (International Conciliation Bulletin, 123).

[11] See—Demands of Labor in Scandinavian countries. Monthly Labor Review, Jan. 1919, 305, 306; March 1919, 57-59. Attitudes of the chief French, Italian and Belgian labor papers. International Review, June, 1919, 501-504. For American Labor Mission in Europe see N. Y. Times Current History, Vol. VIII, Part I, 424-6.

league and a director to be appointed by the governing body. The purpose of the international labor office is to collect and distribute material relating to labor and the international adjustment of labor conditions with particular reference to the subjects that will be brought before the international conference and to publish a periodical in English and French and other languages as deemed advisable. The questions discussed at the meeting in October 1919 were (1) the question of the application of the eight-hour day, (2) the question of unemployment, (3) women's employment, (a) before and after child birth including the question of maternity benefit, (b) during the night, (c) in unhealthy occupations and (4) the subject of unemployment of children.

Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University, himself a member of the international labor commission of the Peace Conference, in discussing the international association for labor stated that he believed that such an agency would increase the power of the individual governments to regulate government conditions; that social reform is essentially a national affair, and that the main hope is to learn internationally from the experience of other countries how each country may better conditions at home. The purpose of the international labor office is to work out a program before the meeting of the International Labor Congress.

The Berne Conference The Second International.

A conference of the Socialist International was held in February 1919 at Berne, Switzerland. It was attended by the chief socialist and labor leaders of all Europe. The German majority Socialists were severely condemned. The Bolsheviki of Russia were not represented although a group of anti-Bolshevik Russian socialists attended. Twenty-seven nations or nationalities were represented. Among the nationalities having delegates were the new nations of the Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Esthonia, and Finland. The United States was not represented as Mr. Gompers refused to have a part and the American Socialist party members were delayed for want of passports. Five main topics were discussed: (1) Question of responsibility for the war. Imperial Germany was condemned by implication for the cause of the war. (2) League of Nations. A resolution declaring for League of Nations, disarmament, etc., was adopted. (3) The labor charter. (4) Territorial questions. The conference declared for self determination of peoples, for popular vote in important questions; opposed forced annexations; and favored protection of minorities. (5) Bolshevism. The majority favored the Swedish delegate Branting's resolution condemning the doctrine of the

"*dictatorship of the proletariat;*" a minority said that they would not condemn soviet rule until they knew more about it. This conference differed from the International Labor conference, held at the call of the League of Nations, in that it made provisions to enforce these resolutions by establishing an international commission composed in half of representatives of labor and with power to legislate internationally in regard to labor questions.[12]

Work of the International Labor Conference Oct-Nov. 1919.

Many of the proposals of the Second Socialist International are too idealistic and too radical for present acceptance. The comparison with the work done by the International Labor Conference organized under provisions of the Peace Treaty shows, however, that the major portion of the legislation proposed by the Second Socialist International is in harmony with enlightened thought and views of social reformers. The first session of the International Labor Conference was begun in Washington, October 29, 1919 and closed November 29, 1919. Although the United States Congress did not permit the appointment of delegates before the ratification of the Peace Treaty, the conference invited American associations of employers and workmen to participate. Secretary of Labor Wilson of President Wilson's cabinet opened the first session and was chosen permanent chairman of the conference presiding at a large number of the sessions. It was decided that of the twelve members of the governing board, eight should be named by the countries of chief industrial importance, Germany to be the last country on the list. Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, Belgium, Japan and Switzerland were the other seven countries named. It was generally understood that the next meeting would probably be held at the seat of the League of Nations in 1920. During the month of its session in Washington, the International labor conference established a governing body with a permanent International Labor office, over which Albert Thomas, formerly French minister of munitions is to preside as Director-General. "No American legislative body, certainly, has ever made such effective use of scientific methods, or of expert assistance." Official delegates were present from forty-two different countries. All of the leading countries of Europe, nine South American States, Cuba and the Central American states, several Asiatic countries, including Persia and Siam, and several of the countries newly created by the League of Nations were represented at this conference. The Central powers were the only countries of Europe unrepresented.

[12] For discussions of the Second International, see Survey: 41:42 (March 15, 1919).

The five items proposed to the conference by the peace conference were discussed and adopted. Arrangements were made by the conference by which any country accepting the proposals of the conferences should also establish the proper machinery for inspection and enforcement of the labor acts accepted. The eight-hour day was made obligatory upon the members except in the case of certain Oriental countries. Provisions for limiting the hours of labor in these countries are to be discussed at future meetings of the General Conference. Certain industries are given to July, 1923, to put this rule into effect. Every one of the powers signing the agreement furthermore promises to make a study of unemployment and report regarding this problem within three months and also guarantee the establishent of free employment bureaus. The conference also recommended unemployment insurance to each of the contracting powers. Recommendations were made regarding reciprocity of treatment of foreign workers. The "New Labor Code of the World" was herewith established and promises much for the betterment of labor conditions. And marks a step in the onward progress toward the brotherhood of man.[13]

SUGGESTED READINGS

Report of the Commission on International Labor Representation at the Peace Conference, in International Conciliation Bulletin, July, 1919, No. 140; The International Labor Conference, The Survey, vol. 43, No. 4; N. Y. Times Current History, Dec. 1919 and Jan. 1920 (The International Labor Conference); *Control of Labor Conditions by International Action, Monthly Labor Review, April, 1919; *International Labor Legislation and the Society of Nations, Bulletin 254, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; *International Labor Historical Survey Bulletin, 268, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Labor and the League of Nations, International Conciliation Bulletin 131; British Labor's War Aims, International Conciliation Bulletin, 123; Mr. Gompers in France, Survey, 41: 125-6, Nov. 2, 1918; Mr. Gompers' Foreign Mission, The Public 21: 1102-3, Aug. 31, 1918; War Diplomacy of American Labor, New Republic 14; 126-7, March 2, 1918; The Berne Conference, The Survey; 41:24, March 15, 1919. The Bulletins of the Department of Labor may be obtained by addressing the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

[13] The entire constitution of the International Labor Conference may be found in the Survey, vol. 43, No. 8, Section II. Mr. D. H. Miller, a legal representative of President Wilson has published a very interesting summary of the work of the International Labor Conference in his work International Labor Relations. A second conference of the International Labor Organization was held at Genoa during July 1920. Its proceedings may be found in the American Labor Legislative Review, September, 1920.

CHAPTER V

THE TERMS OF PEACE

THE Peace Congress at Paris is comparable to no other peace conference either in respect to its organization or in its achievements. It is often compared with the Congress of Vienna which closed the war against Napoleon in 1815; yet the two differed widely, though their purposes were the same.

Contrast between Congress of Vienna and the Congress of Paris.

The work of the Congress of Vienna was accomplished by the victors without the participation of other states large or small. The aim primarily was to restore the previous territorial situation, instead of remolding the map of Europe and of the world. Vienna aimed at strengthening the autocratic, monarchial powers of Europe, while the recent congress refused to make peace with an autocratic Germany. The Congress of Vienna refused to recognize the principle of nationality, while the Congress of Paris has based its work of territorial readjustment upon this principle. The Congress of Vienna attempted to base peace upon a confederation of the great Powers only, while that of Paris has created a league of nations which admits all nations, small as well as large, to take part in its work of peace when those nations have satisfied the conditions imposed. Lastly, the peace imposed at Vienna was an European peace, while the peace of Paris is a world peace in which the new world has had a most important voice and the non-European world has played a somewhat important rôle. The century since the Congress of Vienna has been full of most wonderful advances and its changes have been wrought into the fabric which the Congress of Paris created. Whether or not the peace makers have understood the meaning of the century, time alone can tell. Only as they have worked in harmony with the century's history can their work stand. This will be the last test of comparison with the Congress of Vienna, for, as it failed to interpret the history of its times, so the Congress of Paris will succeed or fail as it has succeeded or failed in its interpretations of the world's needs.

Organization and Plans of the Congress of Paris.

The opening session of the Peace Conference met in Paris at the Quai d'Orsay, January 18, 1919. Its membership consisted of four classes, viz.:

From Western Newspaper Union

THE COUNCIL OF FOUR

LEFT TO RIGHT: SIGNOR ORLANDO, DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, CLEMENCEAU AND PRESIDENT WILSON

1. The war Powers with equal interests, comprising Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan, each of which was to take part in all meetings and commissions both general and particular.

2. The war Powers with particular interest, consisting of Belgium, Roumania, Serbia, Brazil, China and the British Dominions. These were to take part in all sittings at which questions concerning their particular interests were discussed.

3. The states which had severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers, which were to participate in all meetings in which questions concerning them were discussed.

4. The neutral Powers and those in process of formation, which were to present arguments orally or in writing to the first group of Powers when necessary.

The representatives were fixed as follows: each of the Powers of the first group were to have five representatives; Belgium, Brazil and Serbia, three each; China, Greece, Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Siam and the Czecho-Slovak Republic, one each; Cuba, Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua and Panama, one each; Bolivia, Equador, Peru, and Uruguay, one each. The British Dominions and India had two delegates each for Australia, Canada, South Africa and the whole of India, and one delegate for New Zealand.

Each delegation was accompanied by technical advisers and two stenographers, and the delegates were given preference according to alphabetical order in French of the Powers. For purposes of organization the Conference was called to order by the President of the French Republic, and the President of the French Council of Ministers was given the chair. The credentials of all the delegates were examined by a committee of the five Powers of the first class, soon to be known as the "Big Five." At the first meeting the President of the French Council of Ministers, Clemenceau, was made permanent chairman of the Conference and four vice-presidents were chosen from the other four Great Powers in alphabetical order. The President of the Conference appointed the secretariat or council of secretaries, which consisted of one member, apart from the delegates, from each of the five Great Powers, and this group was approved by the Conference.

The Conference, after some disagreement and hesitation, admitted representatives of the press; but all news of the conference was closely censored by the council of secretaries. Rules of procedure were drawn up to be distributed to the members. President Clèmenceau announced that members might send memoranda to the council of secretaries with regard to any question which they wished to have

discussed, suggesting that commissions would be appointed to discuss them.

The commissions of the Conference consisted of the following:

1. The Committee of the Great Powers consisting of two members from each of the Powers of the first group.

2. The Supreme War Council, consisting of the Armistice commission acting as a working group with the Committee of the Great Powers.

3. The Commission on the Formation of a League of Nations, of which President Wilson was Chairman.

4. The Commission on the Responsibility of the War.

5. The Commission on Reparation for Damages.

6. The Commission on International Labor Legislation.

7. The Commission on International Control over Ports, Waterways and Railways.

8. The Economic Drafting Commission.

9. The Financial Drafting Commission.

10. The Inter-allied Supreme Economic Council.

In addition, there were special commissions to consider territorial problems, and independently of the Conference, yet acting in connection with it, were a group of National Propaganda committees organized to further national projects. The groups comprised in these committees represented the Aland Islands, Albania, Armenia, Dalmatia, Denmark, the Jewish people, Montenegro, Persia and Russia. It is seen by this perusal of the organization of the Peace Conference that although the practical working of the Conference was in the hands of the five Great Powers, yet the other states were given enough participation at least to impart their point of view. In addition all the states interested were given a hearing before decisions were reached in the committees which considered questions and reported to the Conference. The Peace Conference was accused of being practically a Conference of the five Great Powers, though a sane consideration of the problems discussed and decided upon will hardly carry out this accusation. However unsatisfactory the organization of the Conference, it still remains the sanest and perhaps the first attempt to organize a Conference in the interests of the whole world rather than in the interests of the successful nations at war.

The League of Nations.

In his inaugural speech before the Conference, President Clemenceau announced that the method of procedure would be to take up three questions in order, namely: the responsibility for the war, penalties for crimes committed during the war, and international legislation in regard to labor. He asked that all the

delegations set themselves the task of studying these questions and sending in their conclusions in written memoranda to the council of secretaries. He then announced that the next general or plenary session would take up the problem of the Society of Nations, and declared the sitting at an end. Thus simply and briefly the Conference began the greatest piece of work that any group of men have ever attempted: to reconstitute the world after a world war and to provide measures that would make impossible a recurrence of such a struggle.

For a long time private societies had been at work trying to evolve plans to keep the nations from war and the nations had seconded these efforts by holding a series of conferences at the Hague in Holland to discuss and adopt measures intended to strengthen peace interests. During the war the suggestion was made by leading men in America and Europe that a Peace League should accompany the making of peace at the end of the war. The idea grew in favor and when the Conference met there was a great amount of material available looking toward plans for a Peace League. Nevertheless, there was considerable surprise though very great satisfaction when it became evident that the Conference intended to consider seriously the task of creating a Peace League which should be an integral part of the Treaty of Peace with the Central Powers.

Opposition appeared at once in all countries, based primarily upon the idea that such a task would retard the work of the Conference, would strengthen the revolutionary propaganda which was already dangerous, and would keep in suspension the work of reconstruction which was generally recognized as necessary in all the countries which had been engaged in the war as well as in those which had remained neutral. These arguments the Conference dismissed on the ground that a League of Nations could be organized and worked out in detail before the terms of peace were settled and while the nations recognized the need of coöperation to secure peace terms.

At the second general session, held on January 25, the Conference accepted the proposals for the creation of the League of Nations and established the committee to work out the details of the constitution and the functions of the League. The resolutions adopted by the Conference declared that the League of Nations was "essential to the maintenance of the world settlement", that "this League should be treated as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace, and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied on to promote its objects"; and that "the members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organ-

ization and secretaries to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between the Conferences".

The League of Nations Commission as finally constituted was made up of two representatives from each of the five Great Powers, and one each from five of the smaller states. Upon the presentation of a request from other of the smaller and newly formed states, the Commission was enlarged by the appointment of four additional members representing four of these states.[1]

The Commission met continuously from February 3 to 13 and in that time worked out a tentative plan for presentation to the general session on the 14th. The two problems which presented the greatest difficulty were, first, the establishment of an international military force to execute the will of the League, and, second, the recognition of racial equality among the peoples of the League. The first question was strongly insisted upon by France, which feared an attack from Germany before the machinery of the League could be put into operation, but it was finally discarded by an almost unanimous vote, only France and Czecho-Slovakia voting for the article. The second question, presented by Japan, the recognition of race equality by the Congress, and the League, was withdrawn as presenting a problem too complicated for the Commission to work out during the Peace Congress.

On the 14th of February the general session heard and adopted the report of the Commission which was presented by President Wilson and it was ordered printed and presented to the nations for examination and discussion. President Wilson immediately started home to attend to pressing public business and to answer objections to the League that were raised in America. From February 14 to March 14, President Wilson remained away from the Conference. The members of the League of Nations Commission gave their attention to other matters and permitted full discussion of the proposed draft of a League.

In America the Senate presented some very serious objections to the proposed League and the public press gave much attention to the problem. On the eve of the President's return to the Conference, the Republican leaders in the Senate circulated a resolution written by Mr. Lodge, which demanded that the League of Nations' constitution be revised and that the League constitution be delayed until after the peace terms with Germany were concluded. The resolution pro-

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[1] See International Reconstruction Pamphlet June, 1919, No. 139, p. 830-831 for list of members.

posed that if these demands were not complied with, the League constitution should be refused by the United States.

The determined attitude of the Senate of the United States aided somewhat in reducing the opposition to the League in France [2] and after a hearing given to the neutral states by the Commission, the final constitution was quickly shaped. A number of the American demands were accepted, mainly through the efforts of ex-president Taft who remained a strong advocate of the League. The Commission was careful to maintain the sovereignty of the states as members of the League and equally careful to maintain all the practical plans for peace which had been previously worked out. The League of Nations as finally accepted by the Conference provided for the voluntary co-operation of such states as accepted the League constitution for the purpose of maintaining the peace of the world. The members agreed to enforce peace, if necessary, upon those who did not accept the League terms as well as upon those who did accept them. It provided a regular machinery for investigation of all matters pertaining to peace. It required the reduction of national armaments, agreed to respect and to preserve against external aggression the political independence of its members, required the publication of all international agreements and established a mandatory [3] for backward peoples of the world.

The League was organized to deal with labor problems in their international aspect, to regulate traffic in arms and ammunition and to maintain the freedom of traffic for the commerce of the world. The capital of the League was fixed at Geneva but was made subject to change, and the first Secretary-General was Sir Eric Drummond. The League of Nations was made an integral part of the peace terms and the Central Powers accepted them in accepting the terms of peace, although they were not permitted to become members of the League until they had fulfilled certain of the peace provisions.

General Peace Terms.

In the meantime the other commissions were rapidly shaping the general peace terms. In an address before the House of Commons on April 16, the English Premier, Lloyd George, set forth some of the difficulties of the Conference. "The task with which the peace delegates have been confronted is indeed a gigantic one. No Conference that ever assembled in the

[2] France had opposed the League terms because she wanted a League army to protect her against future German aggression. Now she began to fear that even a league without an army might be voted down by our Senate.

[3] The peoples not prepared for self government were placed under the control of some one Power whose duty it was to educate the people for self government

THE COMMITTEE WHICH DREW UP THE PEACE TREATY IN SESSION.

history of the world has been confronted with problems of such variety, of such perplexity, of such magnitude and of such gravity. The Congress of Vienna was the nearest approach to it. It had to settle the affairs of Europe. It took eleven months. But the problems of the Congress of Vienna, great as they were, sink into insignificance compared with those that we have to settle at the Paris Conference.

"It is not one continent that is engaged. Every continent is affected. With very few exceptions every country in Europe has been in this war. Every country in Asia is affected by the war save Thibet and Afghanistan. There is not a square mile of Africa which has not been engaged in the war in one way or another. Almost the whole of the nations of America are in the war. . . . . There has never been in the whole history of the globe anything to compare with this.

"Ten new states have sprung into existence. Some of them are an independent, some of them seem dependent, some of them may be protectorates. . . Boundaries of fourteen countries have to be recast.

"But there are problems equally great, equally important, not of a territorial character, but all affecting the peace of the world, all affecting the well being of men, all affecting the destiny of the human race, and everyone of them of a character where, if you make a blunder, humanity may have to pay.

"Armament, economic questions of commerce and trade, questions of international waterways and railways, the question of indemnities. . . . . international arrangements for labor, practically never attempted before—a great world scheme—have been adopted."

After reviewing the methods of work and the complexity of the Russian problem, Lloyd George said: "We want peace. We want a peace that is just but not vindictive. We want peace, a stern peace, because the occasion demands it, the crime demands it; but its severity must be designed not to gratify vengeance, but to vindicate justice. Every clause in the terms must be justified on that ground.

"Above all we want to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the big war by making the wrong doer repair the wrongs and losses which he has inflicted by his wanton aggression; by punishing each individual who is responsible, and by depriving the nations which menaced the peace of Europe for half a century with flourishing the sword of their weapons."[4]

This was the task of the Conference, which, through the work of its various commissions, finally finished the draft of the treaty and

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[4] Lloyd George, Speech in House of Commons, April 19, 1919.

asked Germany to send her delegates to Paris. There they received the treaty on May 7, 1919, 177 days after the signing of the armistice. All discussions of the treaty were conducted in writing with Germany. After considerable protest against the terms which she professed would ruin her, Germany yielded and the "second peace of Versailles" was signed on June 28, 1919.

The Treaty of Peace which finally brought to an end the greatest war in history[5] contains some eighty thousand words and covers a multitude of subjects. Only a brief resumé of its most important provisions can be given here. Part I of the treaty deals with the terms of the covenant of the League of Nations and has already been reviewed.[6]

The League of Nations.

The question of territorial changes and German boundaries gave the Conference great trouble. These questions were long and anxiously discussed before agreements were reached. France was so fearful of Germany's intention to renew the war that she not only asked for indemnities but desired that all German territory west of the Rhine be organized into a buffer state independent of Germany. She feared that the action of the League of Nations would be too slow to protect her from future aggression. She was led to accept the terms as drawn by the promise of a treaty of defense with both Great Britain and the United States which should bind those Powers to give immediate aid in case of an unprovoked attack.[7]

Discussion of Territorial Changes.

A second question which gave great trouble was Italy's desire to guard herself on the frontier of the Adriatic sea. During the war Great Britain, France, and Russia had recognized Italy's right to secure the Italian territories still held by Austria-Hungary, but Italy laid claim to part of Fiume as necessary to her frontier with the newly-organized state of Jugo-Slavia. The United States representatives opposed this claim and after interminable discussion, Italy yielded, though a decision was not reached until after the German treaty was signed. Fiume and its surrounding territory were internationalized and Italy gave up her claims to most of Dalmatia.[8]

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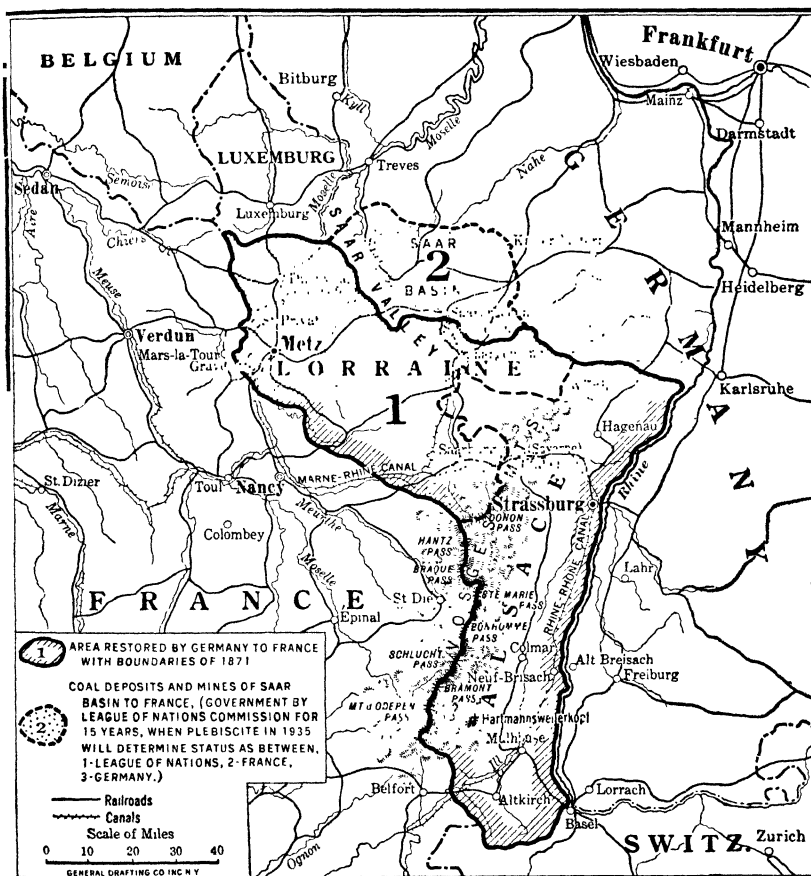
[5] Of course the U.S. did not accept the peace when it was completed although the war was not continued.

[6] See page 8 ff.

[7] The Senate has so far (1921) failed to ratify the Treaty between France and the United States.

[8] This settlement was included in the treaty with Austria. The attempt of the poet soldier, D'Annunzio, to take possession of Fiume for Italy was so far successful that Italy was enabled to secure control of the City after D'Annunzio had held it for six months in defiance of the Allies.

The third problem which gave great difficulties and left considerable dissatisfaction was the Shantung Peninsula settlement. Japan participated in the war largely to secure possession of that peninsula. After Germany surrendered it to Japan during the war, that nation forced China to

The Shantung Peninsula.

ALSACE LORRAINE AND THE SAAR VALLEY.

recognize her right to hold it, on promise of returning the actual territory to China when Japan should have indemnified herself for her war expenditure. Under the terms of this treaty with China, Japan will retain the economic rights formerly held by Germany in the port and province. This treaty the Conference practically accepted in

order to make certain that Japan would ratify the Versailles treaty, although the representatives generally seemed to feel that Japan was taking unfair advantage of the situation.

The Saar Valley and Dantzig.

Two other questions of importance were the Saar valley demands of France and Germany's protest against giving Dantzig to Poland. These questions, however, were settled with comparatively little friction. The changes made in the German boundaries and possessions were as follows: beginning on the north and west, Schleswig was given the right of self-determination and slight changes were made in the boundaries between Germany and Belgium, and Germany, France, and Luxemburg to correspond with changes made to the south. To France was ceded Alsace-Lorraine with the boundary of July 18, 1870, that extended from Luxemburg to Switzerland. In addition, France was given possession and ownership of the coal mines of the Saar valley. Germany renounced her right of government over this region which the treaty placed in the hands of a commission of the League of Nations for fifteen years. At the end of that time, a plebiscite will decide whether Germany or France shall take over the political control of the region. The boundaries between Germany and Switzerland remained intact. The boundaries with Austria were left intact to the frontiers of the new Czecho-Slovak state. Germany recognized the independence of Czecho-Slovakia, ceded to it a portion of lower Silesia [9] and recognized the boundaries that existed between Germany and Austria on August 3, 1914, as the German-Czech boundaries.

The creation of an independent Poland was a difficult matter and was a problem long studied by the experts of the Peace Conference. The Russian portions of Poland had already been recognized as independent, so that the treaty attempted only to fix the boundaries between the newly organized state and Germany. In general, the lines gave to Poland the lower tip of Silesia, the old Poland taken by Germany under the partition treaties including Posen and West Prussia and the upper or southern portion of East Prussia. Dantzig, however, was made a free city under the protection of the League of Nations.

Germany agreed to respect the permanent and rightful independence of all the territories comprised in the Russian Empire on August 1, 1914, and also the rightful independence of Austria subject to the will of the Allied Powers. In addition, Germany renounced her rights and interests in all her former colonies and recognized the right of

[9] A plebiscite in the remaining part of Lower Silesia gave this territory to Germany.

the Allied Powers to make such provision as they chose for these territories, as well as with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

Military and Naval Terms of the Congress.

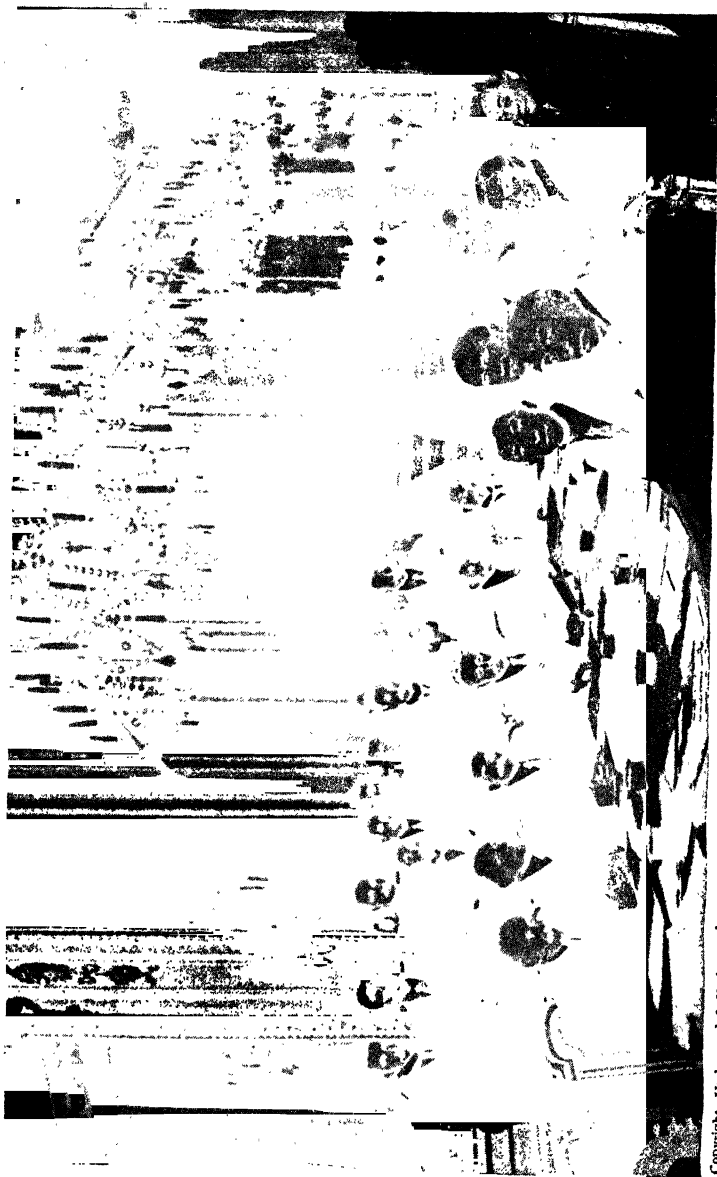
The treaty permitted Germany to retain an army of one hundred thousand officers and men. The officers were not to exceed four thousand for all branches of the service, and were to serve twenty-five years. The petty officers and men were to serve twelve years. All military schools were to be closed except those necessary for training enough officers to keep their number at its ordinary strength, and Germany was to forbid her citizens to serve in the armies of other nations. The artillery, rifles, and ammunition were cut to numbers proportional to the army and all guns and ammunition in excess of these numbers were to be handed over to the Allies.

The naval clauses fixed the following as the number of ships to be available for German use: six battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers and twelve torpedo boats. All submarines were to be surrendered and no submarines for either naval or commercial purposes were to be built. Germany might train only enough volunteers to man effectively the ships retained. She surrendered outright all naval ships interned under the armistice terms.[10]

Germany agreed to stop manufacture of munitions of war of all kinds except the guns and ammunition necessary for the forces left her. She was forbidden to manufacture for sale or use all poisonous gases. She was to surrender all her aircraft and was forbidden to include aircraft of any kind in her military or naval forces. She was further required to modify her laws in conformity with the military and naval terms of the treaty, within a period of three months, and to give interallied commissions freedom to supervise the carrying out of the treaty.

Germany agreed to destroy all fortifications in the North and Baltic seas that were designed to prevent the entrance of ships into these waters. She agreed to destroy all mines in the North and Baltic seas; to dismantle the fortifications of the island of Heligoland, those west of the Rhine and fifty kilometers east of the Rhine; to refrain from erecting any fortifications in the proscribed district or from carrying on any military maneuvers of any kind.

Germany also agreed to return all prisoners of war and interned civilians, as soon as the treaty was signed, and to pay all expenses involved. With the Allied governments, she also agreed to dig the

[10] The ships interned in English ports were sunk by their crews shortly after the terms of peace were made public.

COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE PEACE DELEGATES TO FIX THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE WAR.

graves of soldiers and sailors who were to be buried within the respective territories, and to respect those already there.

Penalties and Reparation Fixed by the Congress.

The treaty required Germany to hand over to the Allies all persons accused of offenses against international law or of criminal acts against the inhabitants of any of the allied nations. In this portion of the treaty the name of William II of Hohenzollern was specifically mentioned and provision was made for his trial. Germany was required to furnish all documents and information deemed necessary for the full knowledge of such acts.[11]

By way of reparation, Germany acknowledged under the treaty her responsibility for the war and was required to make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers or to their property by land, by sea or by the air. In addition she was required to pay the cost of the maintenance of the Allied forces in Germany for the period after the armistice so long as they were maintained in Germany. Germany agreed in addition to restore Belgium and the devastated regions of France. To the treaty was attached an appendix defining in detail the materials to be restored and the indemnities to be paid by way of reparation. The treaty established a commission on reparation and required Germany to issue bonds to the amount of five billion dollars (one hundred and twenty billion marks) payable not later than May 1, 1921, to maintain the armies of occupation. She was further required to issue bonds to the amount of ten billion dollars (forty billion marks) bearing interest at 2½ per cent. per annum between 1921 and 1926, and 5 per cent. thereafter. She was also required to agree that when the commission determined that she was able to meet the interest and sinking fund obligations, she would issue a further amount of ten billion dollars (forty billion marks) at 5 per cent., the commission to determine time and method of payment. The commission was authorized to demand additional issues if in its judgment Germany was able to pay them.

The treaty required Germany to replace ton for ton the shipping illegally destroyed by Germany during the war. She was to hand over at once practically one half of her merchant fleet and to build at the orders of the commission such additional ships, up to two hundred thousand tons per year.

In addition, Germany was required to furnish to Belgium and France, horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and hogs to an amount specified to replace those seized or destroyed; and to furnish building materials

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[11] This part of the treaty was not enforced by the Allies.

and coal to France and Italy for a period of ten years. The Allies were to be allowed an option of receiving from Germany such amounts of dyestuffs and chemical drugs as the commission might determine. Germany was also to hand over to the Allies a portion of her submarine cables, specially named, and to restore to France and Belgium the trophies, arts, archives, and historical souvenirs taken by her during the war.

Economic and Commercial Clauses of the Treaty.

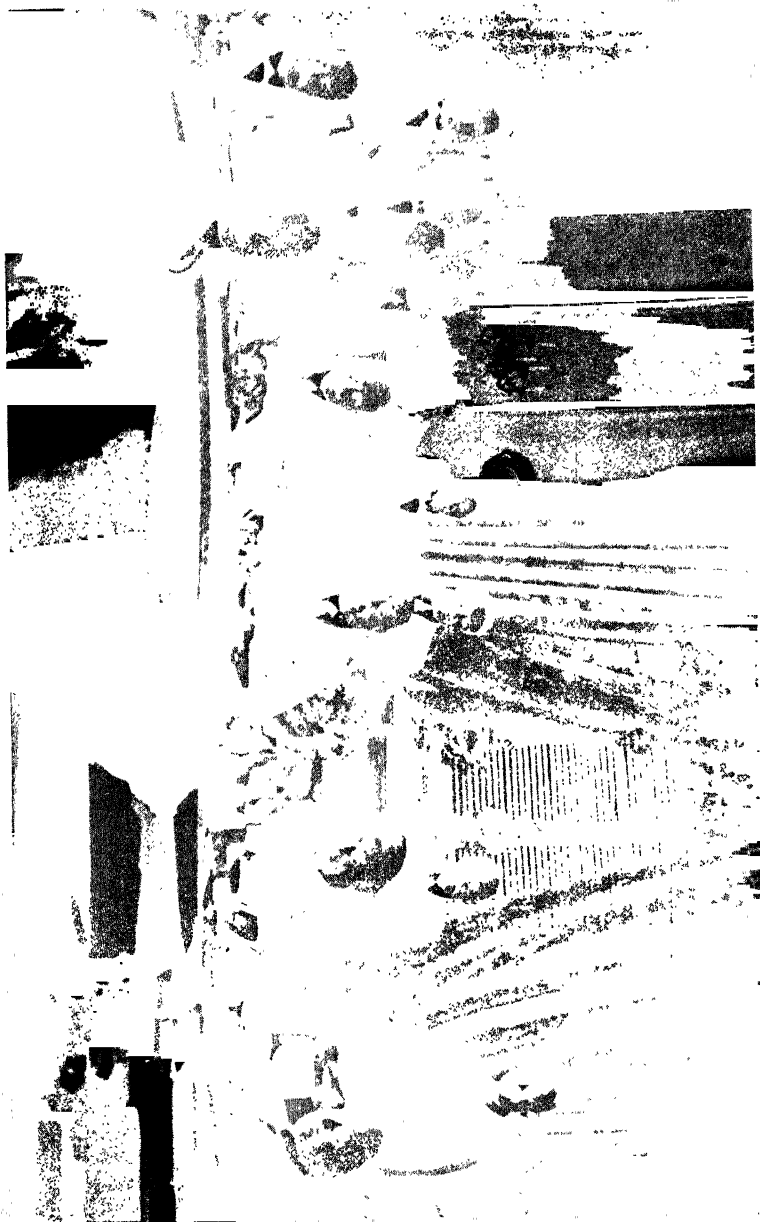
The treaty provided for the resumption of economic relations with Germany. It attempted to regulate the duty rights of Germany in relation to the Allies and to protect the private interests of Allied subjects in Germany for a period of years following the acceptance of the treaty. It stipulated the commercial treaties which were to remain in force as well as other conventions to which Germany had previously subscribed. It also abrogated the treaties made by Germany with Russia or any of its recently organized portions, or with Roumania, and gave to the Allies the benefits of all treaty rights granted by Germany to neutrals during the war and to her allies in the war before August 1, 1914.

A tribunal made up of German and Allied citizens was provided for each of the Allied countries and Germany, to adjudge questions of indebtedness, of contracts and judgments of fire, marine and life insurance; and rules and regulations were established under which the tribunal should adjudge cases. Germany was required to accede all its former rights and privileges to nationals of territory separated from Germany by the war and to repay the sums received by way of state and social insurance from such nationals before the war.

Rules and regulations were established for aerial navigation, especially of Allied aircraft in German territory, and such rules and regulations were to apply for a period of five years or until Germany may be admitted to the League of Nations.

The treaty provided for freedom of transit through German territory, on the most convenient routes for Allied goods; Germany agreed to a limitation of her control over such goods, to take the necessary measures to see that the transit was bona fide, and to make no discrimination in duties or charges on imports or exports as between any of the Allied and other countries. The vessels of the nationals of the Allied powers were guaranteed common treatment with all other nationals in the ports and waterways of Germany.

Germany was required to maintain her free zones in ports and the former regulations of such ports. The Elbe, Oder and Niemen rivers were declared international; commissions were established to admin-

SUPREME COUNCIL OF PEACE CONFERENCE GATHERED AT SAN REMO, ITALY.

ister the first two of these rivers and a commission was provided for the Niemen in case it should be asked for. The Danube commission was reëstablished and Germany agreed to accept the regulations to be fixed within a year for the administration under this commission by the Allies. Austria's and Hungary's right to establish works at the iron gates on the Danube was abrogated. The rights of the new states established by the treaty, bordering on the Danube, and of Roumania, to improve navigation were guaranteed and Germany agreed to restore to the Danube Commission all the rights and pay for all damages inflicted upon it during the war. The treaty also provided for a possible Rhine-Danube deep draft waterway commission, should such a commission be deemed advisable in the future. The treaty internationalized the Rhine and Moselle rivers and made provision for their administration, guarding the rights of France, Belgium and Switzerland; while Germany agreed to carry out such provisions for improving the Rhine navigation as she had entered into with Belgium before the war or to permit the commission to make such improvements at Germany's expense. Germany also accepted the right of the commission to extend its authority up to the Lake of Constance, subject to Switzerland's consent, or on the Moselle between France and Luxemburg, subject to the latter's consent.

Germany likewise agreed to lease to the Czecho-Slovak state for a period of ninety-nine years areas in the ports of Hamburg and Stettin which are to be placed under the regimé of free zones. Such zones will be administered according to rules fixed by a commission of three members appointed one by Germany, one by Czecho-Slovakia and one by Great Britain.

The Kiel canal was required to be kept open and free to vessels of commerce and of war, of all nations at peace with Germany, on terms of equality. Provisions concerning railway transport were made to follow the Berne convention of 1890 unless a new convention should be made.

Labor Regulations.

For the first time in history an attempt was made in the peace with Germany to make working regulations in regard to labor. In the preamble to the labor-provisions, the treaty made clear that its makers believed that future peace would be possible only by providing regulations in regard to labor that could be acceptable to the nations. A permanent organization was created from the states which were original members of the League of Nations. It was to consist of a General Conference of representatives of the members and an International Labor Office controlled by the governing body. This body was made to consist of twenty-four persons

as follows: twelve representing the governments, six representatives elected by the general conference to represent the employers, and six representatives so elected to represent the workers. The Labor Office was established at the seat of the League of Nations and was to receive such assistance as required from the League secretariat. The first meeting of the General Conference was to meet in Washington in October[12], 1919, and was to be called by the U. S. government. The General Conference was empowered to establish international regulations by a two-thirds vote which, when accepted by the members of the League, become law for such as accept them. In case of violations the governing body may, on the refusal of a nation to comply, publish both the complaint and its decision, and any member of the League may take such economic action against that nation as the Permanent court of International Justice of the League of Nations may recommend. The treaty recognized in general the following principles and recommended their inclusion in the law of nations as far as practicable: labor shall not be regarded as a commodity that is bought or sold; the right to organize for any right purpose; of both worker and employer an adequate wage; the eight-hour day, and forty-eight hour week as the standard to be aimed at with twenty-four hours weekly rest, preferably on Sunday; the abolition of child labor and the limitation of labor of young persons to permit of the continuation of their education; the recognition of the principle of equal pay of men and women for work of equal value; a standard set by law for conditions of labor, with due regard to the fair economic treatment of all workers; a system of state inspection employing both men and women.

Miscellaneous Provisions and Guarantees of the Peace.

Germany agreed to any settlement to be made by the Allies with her former associates in the war and to recognize any boundaries fixed for them by the Allies. She agreed to recognize changes made in the 1815 treaty regarding upper Savoy between France and Switzerland and a modification of the former treaty between France and Monaco. Germany accepted the transfer of her religious missions to trustees appointed by the Allied and Associated governments and agreed to accept all findings of Allied prize courts during the war and to accept the treaty as closing any and all claims arising out of such actions.

In order to guarantee the carrying out of the treaty, Germany agreed to the Allied occupation of German territory west of the Rhine and the Rhine bridge heads, for a period of fifteen years, or, provided the treaty is carried out by Germany, the period of occupa-

[12] The Conference was finally called for November 1919, in Washington.

tion will be restricted as follows: at the expiration of five years the territory controlled by the bridge-head at Cologne and that bridge-head will be evacuated, except the railway lines in the above area; at the expiration of ten years the territory controlled by the bridge-head at Coblenz together with the bridge-head, except the railways and roads, will be evacuated; at the expiration of fifteen years the bridge-heads at Mainz and Kehl, together with all the occupied territory, will be evacuated.

REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GERMAN STATES, MEETING TO TALK OVER SPA CONFERENCE.

If at the end of fifteen years, the guarantees against unprovoked aggression are not considered sufficient by the Allies, the territory will be held until such guarantees are received. In case the reparation committee find that Germany refuses, either before or after the period of occupation, to observe even a part of her obligations, the Allies will reoccupy the above territory immediately and if before the end of fifteen years, Germany complies with all the provisions of the treaty, the forces will be withdrawn immediately. Germany also agreed to the evacuation of all the former Russian territories as fast as the Allies deemed evacuation practicable and agreed to send no further troops into such territories.

The ratifications of the treaty were to be placed in Paris, the treaty was deemed to come into force as soon as Germany and three of the principle Allied nations had ratified it, in so far as the nations

ratifying it are concerned; and for all other states, as soon as the deposit of ratification is made in Paris.

The terms of the Treaty with Germany settled, the Allies turned to the difficult work of arranging terms with the other belligerents to satisfying the desires as well as to curb the ambitions of the newly created states in Central and Southern Europe.

The Treaty with Austria.

The first work was that of arranging terms of peace with Austria. The Austrian delegation made a pleasing impression upon the Conference by its dignified bearing and its friendly attitude, which were in great contrast to those of the German delegation. After a great deal of delay caused by the difficulty of satisfying Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, and Czecho-Slovakia, the terms were handed to the Austrian representatives on June 2, 1919, in the old historic chateau of Francis I at St. Germain-en-Laye; hence it is known as the Treaty of St. Germain. After four months of negotiations, in which Austria made bitter protest against the economic burdens of the treaty, the document was signed on September 10, 1919.

Terms of the Treaty.

The Treaty of St. Germain bore with it the League of Nations as provided in the treaty with Germany, and the labor clauses of that treaty. It reduced the territory of Austria to the small German portion in the central western part of the old empire, with a population of six or seven millions, while Austria was compelled to recognize the complete independence of Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugo-Slavia, and to cede other territories to Italy, Roumania and Poland. Altogether, she lost a population of about forty-three millions and a territory comprising five or six thousand square miles.

Austria, now officially called the Republic of Austria, was compelled to demobilize her army and to reduce its numbers to 200,000 men under voluntary enlistment. She agreed to demobilize her aerial forces, to give up those guilty of war crimes to the Allies for punishment, to give up all her extra-European rights, to recognize beforehand the treaties to be made with Bulgaria and Turkey and such change in status as the Allies may see fit to make with regard to Belgium. The economic terms, however, were those which bore most heavily upon the newly formed republic. By these terms Austria agreed to bear her proportion of the costs of the army of occupation and to bear the whole burden of the war debt as fixed by the Allies. She was relieved of the proportional part of the pre-war debt, portions being imposed upon each of the territories taken from the old empire. Austria was required to devote her resources toward the restoration of the devastated areas and to give up such animals, machinery, etc.,

as the reparation committee should deem wise in view of Austria's limited ability. Austria was likewise required to give up all war loot to Belgium and France and to restore to the ceded districts such art and archæological materials and documents as formerly belonged to them.

Thus from the Treaty of St. Germain have come into being four new states to replace the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, each based upon a nationality of long historic growth. The new Republic of Austria, dominantly German, may yet become a part of the German Empire if the newly created League of Nations gives its consent, as it may do when the affairs of the new states are well settled and the relations with Austria are fairly adjusted.

The Treaty with Bulgaria.

The settlement with Bulgaria gave comparatively little trouble. The treaty was signed at Neuilly just outside of Paris, with little of the ceremony attending the other two treaties. The treaty fixed a war indemnity of $445,000,000, deprived Bulgaria of Thrace and a small territory on the borders of Serbia which went to the latter, while there were minor changes in the boundary between Bulgaria and Roumania. Bulgaria agreed to abolish compulsory military service and to maintain an army of not more than 20,000 men, with an additional police force of not more than 10,000 men. All military equipment beyond the needs of the reduced army were to be given to the Allies, and Bulgaria was to surrender all Bulgarians guilty of war crimes.

Ratification of the Treaties.

The Treaty of Versailles provided that the treaty should become effective when signed by Germany and at least three of the principal Allied and Associated Powers. Great Britain ratified the treaty on July 31, 1919, Belgium on August 8, Italy on October 7, and France on October 13. On October 30, Japan ratified the treaty of Versailles. Then its acceptance by the major Powers among the Allies lacked only the consent of the United States where the Senate long remained in deadlock over the reservations to be asked by the United States and finally rejected the treaty altogether.

The European Powers hesitated to put the treaty into operation until the United States should ratify the document; but finally, on November 21, the Supreme Council agreed that the treaty should be put into force on December 1, 1919. This date was postponed because of Germany's refusal to sign the protocol required to put the treaty into effect. She finally signed it on December 15, 1919, and the Allies agreed upon the organization of the League of Nations, of which M. Bourgeois became the first president, and put the treaty into operation without the sanction of the United States.

THE WORLD AFTER

PEACE OF VERSAILLES.

Meanwhile Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, which had refused to sign the Austrian treaty, reconsidered their action and signed this treaty together with that between the Allies and Bulgaria. Most of the South American states had signed the treaty and only Holland had definitely decided not to sign. On December 11, a conference between France, Italy, and Great Britain agreed to the organization of a military force to put into operation the League of Nations, in the absence of support from the United States, and the work of putting the treaty into effect was definitely begun.

The Treaty with Turkey was presented to her by the Allies on May 11, 1920, and she was allowed one month to consider it. Its main provisions are as follows: Constantinople and the Straits to remain Turkish but to be administered by an international commission which will neutralize the waters for commerce, Macedonia to be given to Greece, except small portions, and the Turkish Islands in the Agean to be Greek possessions;[13] Greece also is to be given the administration over Smyrna with the surrounding territory, although Turkey will retain her title to the city and territory.

Turkey gave up her claims to Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Palestine, Hedjaz, Egypt, the Sudan and Cyprus. France was given a mandate for Syria, England for Mesopotamia and Palestine was to be controlled by a mandatory appointed by the Allied Powers and submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.

THE TERMS OF PEACE

International Conciliation Bulletin, Sept. 1919, No. 142.
The New York Times Current History, Aug. 1919.

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[13] The group of Islands taken by Italy in 1913 are to remain Italian.

PART II

THE FAILURE OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY

CHAPTER I

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE PEACE OF 1815

Europe in 1815.

THE attempt of Napoleon to dominate Europe during the years 1802-1814, frightened the continent almost as badly as did the great attempt of Germany in the recent war. By 1813, the people of the entire continent were in alliance with him or against him. By the close of the struggle, the Holy Roman Empire had disappeared as completely as had the Austrian Empire after the recent contest. There had been organized by Napoleon a series of buffer states along the Rhine which would compare favorably with the group recognized by the Entente Allies at the close of the recent war. In the East, Poland had been organized into an independent state, to trouble Russia and to the weakening of both Austria and Prussia, while the latter state had all but lost its independence and Austria had been greatly limited. The material losses had been, comparatively, little less than in the present struggle. For ten years there had been incessant warfare and while the methods of destruction were not so scientifically developed, yet they were quite sufficient in view of the then prevailing methods of defense. When the war closed, Napoleon was calling to the colors in France the boys of sixteen years, despite the fact that he was using Spaniards, Italians and Germans of the Rhine in his campaigns. The suffering, too, was severe. The science of surgery and medicine had not made the progress that it has made today. The almost heart breaking attempts of both contestants to cripple the food supply, made conditions desperate; and the great loss of life and the supreme need of military supplies made production slow and altogether inadequate. It will be recalled that England alone was profiting by the first beginnings of the great industrial revolution, and trade was made precarious and largely impossible. The United States, the only neutral with any trade possibilities, was drawn into the war in much the same way and for much the same reasons that she entered the recent struggle.

The war had to a very great degree destroyed the old territorial divisions of Europe. Those old divisions were, of course, largely

the result of the religious wars and the wars for aggrandizement which had troubled Europe from the sixteenth century onward. The spirit of nationality had only begun to make itself felt in Spain and Prussia although it was, of course, more active in France and in England. The war was to have the effect of strengthening the development of the very few national lines that had been drawn on the continent. There is, indeed, a rather striking similarity between the disorders due to the Napoleonic wars regarding territorial settlements and those of the recent wars.

In this connection it may be recalled that from the early part of 1813 until the abdication of Napoleon, treaty after treaty was made between the various members of the allied group opposed to Napoleon. These treaties were nearly all concerned with the attempt to trade assistance for land claims to be made in the peace congress. Like the secret treaties of the Entente Allies they were proposals to divide Europe in the interests of the successful contestants. For this reason the land settlement became one of the most important and most bitterly contested problems of the peace.

Effects of the French Revolution.

The French Revolution had opened the Pandora box of political ideas and the war had busily aided in scattering them broadcast over Europe. The ideas of nationality, civil-rights, and privileges of the people, equality of classes, constitutional government and written constitutions, ministerial responsibility—all of these acquired a new meaning to peoples oppressed by high prices and the numberless ills due to a long war. The general prevailing discontent was directed toward these new ideas in much the same way as the recent discontent, due to high prices, lack of occupation, and of labor and other ills, has been directed toward social and industrial reform. Just as we had been saying during the war, "The world can never be the same again," so people were saying after the Napoleonic wars, "We will never return to the old conditions again."

The Congress of Vienna.

In the midst of this disorder, the Congress of Vienna was called to attempt the settlement of Europe. The Peace of Paris had done little more than the recent armistice in 1919 was intended to do, and dealt with much the same matters. It was intended to hold France firmly until the final peace terms could be drawn up at Vienna. It is worth while to notice that the Congress was in session from September 14, 1814 to June 15, 1815, though during this time for three months the war was resumed by Napoleon after his escape from Elba. Thus a long period of time was allowed to elapse during which disorders grew while Europe awaited the final

peace terms. Let us then turn to this old congress to see how it settled some of its difficult questions.

It was just one hundred years before the opening of the present war that the nations of Europe met in Vienna to re-organize the map of Europe, in the closing act of Napoleon's dramatic struggle for empire. All Europe except the Balkan peninsula had been engaged in that mighty struggle and all were interested in the settlement and in peace. The Congress was in some respects the most important one in which the nations of Europe had ever met. More nations were represented than in any previous congress, more territory was involved in the settlement, more knotty problems were presented for untying, and, as a consequence, more important personages were present to guide or to watch affairs from day to day.

Importance of the Congress.

The social brilliance of the Congress almost overshadowed its work. Sixteen millions of dollars were spent by Austria for the entertainment of the delegates. Alexander of Russia, the head of the alliance which overthrew Napoleon, the recognized leader of liberalism, and the head of an unknown and almost untried empire, was the center about which both social and state affairs gravitated. Near him in importance stood Frederick William who had played so humble a part at the Treaty of Tilsit[1] and whose people had now again forced him into the forefront as a competitor with the Czar for the title, "Savior of Europe." Here also was Francis Joseph at whose capital was displayed all this pomp and grandeur, the taxation of whose poverty-stricken people made possible the magnificence of this gathering, whose armies and whose ultimatum had done so much to turn the tide of victory. These three formed the great triumvirate of crowned heads, and immediately below them stood most of the lesser sovereigns of Europe. The Kings of England and France, the Pope of Rome, and the Sultan of Turkey alone among the important European leaders were absent. Below the lesser sovereigns stood the statesmen and the diplomats who were to negotiate and discover compromises which were to make the settlement possible.

Social Brilliance of Congress.

It is not the purpose here to enter into a discussion of the negotiations or the compromises of the Congress. The problem set is to discover and to state only those settlements which, being in the nature of a compromise, and not in harmony with the new age, have re-

[1] The treaty of Tilsit was formed between Napoleon, Alexander I of Russia and Frederick William of Prussia. The last named had no part in the making of the treaty but had to sign it when it was made.

mained to plague Europe throughout the century and ultimately to lead the nations again to war.

The greatest difficulty of the Congress was to satisfy the territorial aspirations of the states involved. In the solution of this problem was represented primarily the selfish interest of the states only occasionally tempered with human motives, as in the case of England and perhaps Russia. The settlement was further involved by territorial engagements that had already been made between nearly all the Powers. These engagements had begun when Sweden and Russia instituted the first of that series of treaties which brought together the last great Alliance. In this first treaty Sweden recognized the cession of Finland and received the promise of the Czar that he would aid her in securing Norway when peace should be made. Later, Russia and Prussia, in the Treaty of Kalisch, agreed to the cession of Poland to Russia, while Prussia was to be repaid by the seizure of Saxony, whose king had been over-faithful to Napoleon. Austria was promised Illyria in return for her aid against Napoleon, while the treaty of Paris recognized the grant of the Austrian Netherlands to Holland and, for compensation, the aggrandizement of Austria in Italy. These agreements the Congress had to take under consideration and had either to accept them or to find a satisfactory compromise.

Difficulties for the Congress.

Another difficulty was experienced in the matter of trying to discover a compromise between the principle of legitimacy,[2] which the Congress wished to recognize, and the settlements that had been made by Napoleon in the elimination of the smaller principalities of the Holy Roman Empire and of Italy. The Congress generally accepted the principle of legitimacy, yet wisely refused to re-establish the small principalities of Germany, and reduced the number of states in Italy by nearly half.

The Principle of Legitimacy.

Still another problem was caused by the rapidly growing idea of nationality. This idea, new to the thought of European statesmen, had enabled Wellington to organize the forces of Spain and eventually to cripple Napoleon's eastern efforts by the heroic resistance of a nation in arms. This, too, was the power which had made Prussia in the few brief years after the Treaty at Tilsit, where the nation, though not despairing, had bowed its head in shame. The work of the national leaders transformed Prussia, made of its army the backbone of the last Great Alliance, and gave

The Idea of Nationality.

[2] The principle that those who had been the recognized rulers of states before the war, should receive again either for themselves or their successors, the territories or states in question.

to the state that national spirit which has been its greatest strength and incentive to effort for the past hundred years.

Unfortunately, the spirit of nationality[3] was closely bound up with the spirit of liberalism[4] which the members of the Congress were disposed to curb in every possible way, as it seemed to them to smack too much of the revolution. In the minds of many of the leaders, it *was* the revolution, and the great majority of the statesmen of Europe were strongly opposed to lending any aid to its further development.

Nationality and liberalism, then, received no encouragement and no support from the Congress. The liberal constitution of a newly born Spain was destroyed in order that the principle of conservatism might be upheld by the legitimate line of princes, and the Prussian effort to establish a national Germany was made impossible.

Little question was raised regarding the agreement between Russia and Sweden. Russia was already in possession of Finland and could not be asked to give it up. Denmark's adherence to Napoleon needed punishment; hence she was deprived of Norway, and was partially compensated by the gift of the principality of Lauenburg and the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. In this action the principle of nationality was ignored, as two of these territories were German to a large extent.

The Most Serious Problem of the Congress.

The settlement of the eastern territorial question involving both Poland and Saxony was by far the most serious problem before the Congress. In the first place, Russia was still an unknown force. Her position was a menace to England and to Austria in southeastern Europe. To add to her western frontier the whole of Poland might be an invitation to her to assume the place of Napoleon in Europe. Such a settlement would likewise menace Austria's position in the German Empire by compacting a strong German state on the north, and it would also threaten England's possession of Hanover, and would upset the balance of Europe by making firm the ties which bound Prussia and Russia together. Here, ostensibly, was a place for compromise. It was at this point that Talleyrand, the French representative, came to the rescue. Excluded from a place in the conference, he had spent his time in working his way into the good graces of everyone whom he could approach, and was now prepared to take advantage of the trouble between the Powers.

When it seemed that no compromise could be effected for the settlement, the representatives of France, Austria, and England entered into a secret treaty by which they agreed to withstand the

[3] Nationality means the spirit of unity in the Nation.
[4] Liberalism means the changes in government guarding the peoples rights.

proposed settlement by force of arms if necessary. This treaty Napoleon sent to Alexander on his return to Paris at the opening of the hundred days of war. The Congress was at a deadlock, Napoleon was again free, and it seemed as if the chance of peace had disappeared. At this juncture, however, the idealism of Alexander saved the day. Placing the secret treaty in a pigeon hole, he proposed to give up his claim to a part of Poland and to be satisfied simply with the major portion, saving Warsaw for independence and giving to Austria and Prussia the major part of what they had formerly held. This paved the way for peace. Prussia now stood alone and was forced by Russia's desertion to compromise her demands. A portion only of Saxony, two-fifths of the territory including half of the population, was given her, while additional territory stretching irregularly to the Rhine was added to compensate for the loss of the portion of Saxony which was given back to the Saxon King! This, then, was the great compromise of the Congress. Alexander had been thwarted in his idea of becoming a great western Power, and had still been "kept grouped," as Metternich of Austria expressed it, while Prussia was delayed for forty years in the attempt to unify her territory. Russia, balked in the strengthening of her northern water front, was forced to confine herself to Eastern Europe and to look south and east, while Austria could still remain the almost foreign leader of the German peoples.

The Idealism of Alexander.

Compromises of the Congress.

The next compromise in importance was the creation of a new Austria. This question had been partially settled in the earlier treaties and was partially dictated by the desire to guard against a renewed attempt on the part of France to encroach upon the rest of Europe. With this latter idea in view, the Austrian Netherlands, later Belgium, was incorporated with Holland. This made necessary the addition of territory to Austria, who had thus lost the Netherlands and also the western lands that had been given to Bavaria and Wurtemberg by Napoleon and secured to them by treaties with Austria and the Allies before the Treaty of Paris. Illyria was readily given to Austria, and the principle of Nationality was completely ignored when the Congress handed over to the mercies of Austrian rule the Italian provinces of Venice and Lombardy. The Empress Louise the Austrian wife of Napoleon, was given the Italian duchies of Parma and Piacenza, which upon her death were to revert to Austria.

Here, again, selfishness had prevailed over both legitimacy and nationality. There was nothing to bind Belgium to Holland except the power of the Allies, while Austria had the problem of organizing

and pacifying the Italian provinces wrested from the southern peninsula, a task which more and more resolved itself into the attempt to frustate the growth of Italian nationality. The gift of Illyria in turn opened up for Austria the eternal Slav question, which has been to her a stumbling block to the present day, and was the most direct cause of the Great War.

The Reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire.

Another great difficulty of the Congress centered about the reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire, destroyed by Napoleon in 1806. In the first place, Napoleon had obliterated many of the state lines. The church princes had largely lost their lands and the small principalities had been swallowed up by others. To restore these was impossible. To those remaining intact the legitimate rulers were recalled, and to Prussia and Austria was assigned the formulation of a scheme of government for the group.

Several settlements were possible and many were suggested. There could be a return to the plan of government that existed before Napoleon's time. This met with disapproval. There was also possible a dual headship of Austria and Prussia over a group of states more definitely organized than under the Holy Roman Empire. This was Prussia's scheme, but it was balked by Austria and Bavaria. There was then possible a loosely organized confederation with a president named by Austria and a council of delegates acting for the sovereigns only. This latter scheme was that evolved by Metternich out of the more national and rational one of Prussia, and it was accepted by the Congress as the German Confederation.

This settlement gave Austria the chance of dominating German nationality, as the Italian settlement gave her the opportunity of dominating Italian affairs. It retarded the growth of unity in both German and Italian centers, and naturally, it has been one of the strongest factors in creating discontent, in perpetuating hatreds, and in precipitating the recent war through Austria's failure to maintain her position in either direction and her consequent concentration upon southeastern Europe for a commercial outlet.

This settlement of the German question was decided upon, because with it were bound up the questions of nationality and the liberal ideas which had been the outgrowth of the French Revolutionary propaganda. Every statesman of influence at the Congress had felt himself called upon to oppose the progress of these ideas. Even Alexander, an ardent idealist, was not prepared to accept their potency in state action. All were agreed, therefore, that to Austria

must be given the direction of German affairs, because she alone could be trusted to maintain the interests of the Congress.

Failure of the Congress.

Thus, the Congress of Vienna so *happily* resettling Europe had in the main ignored the principle of nationality which in the coming century was to be the most dominant factor in governing international relations. In the effort to realize this principle the century has been filled with rebellion, revolution, and war. Poland has rebelled over and over, and has never been reconciled to her lot until the Great War set her free. Belgium rebelled and forced the recognition of her nationality. By its territorial arrangements, the Congress made necessary the wars which gave to Germany and Italy their place among the nations. These wars left an Austrian-Italian question, a Danish question, and established that strong enmity between Germany and France that has been a nightmare to both since 1870.

Moreover, by retarding the national development of Germany and Italy, most of the century was necessary to prepare these states to take their place among the great Powers of Europe. It has made them feel that, in the question of added territory for commercial and colonial effort, they have been at a great disadvantage. This has necessarily produced irritation and has engendered ill feeling that has been responsible for a great many of the later international troubles of the latter part of the century and the few years of the present one.

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Topics for Further Study

1. The Treaties which Preceded the Congress.
2. The Polish-Saxon Question.
3. The Organization of the German Confederation.

CHAPTER II

THE FAILURE OF CONFEDERATED EUROPE

THE character and difficulties of the Napoleonic war made the nations feel, just as we have felt in our recent war, that real peace could be secured only by some form of a league of nations.[1] Much as France had suffered in following Napoleon, no state felt equal to the task of restraining her future ambitions without assistance. Napoleon's overthrow in 1814 was due to a league of the Great Powers, organized and financed by Great Britain. So desirous were the Powers of insuring protection for themselves that treaty after treaty was made by each one to safeguard itself against a recurrence of French aggression. More and more, however, as the four Great Powers, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, drew together, and as their success grew, there also grew the feeling that these four Powers must in some form of federation remain united, to secure peace for Europe. Thus, when they succeeded in driving Napoleon back to the French borders, they met at Chaumont and agreed to some of the preliminaries of a real alliance of the four Powers. After Napoleon's abdication, when the allied forces met in Paris, it was at once recognized that the success of the peace imposed upon France rested upon the close union of the Powers imposing the peace. Thus was organized the Quadruple Alliance, whose function was to be that of the proposed League of Nations, the promotion and maintenance of peace among the European Powers. Napoleon's return from Elba and the serious character of the following hundred days of fighting made very clear this idea of a league, which at Chaumont or at Paris before the hundred days of fighting had been perhaps the result of fears rather than the clear perception of any principle.

Federation of the Great Powers.

Thus, with this the uppermost idea, the second Peace of Paris was made. England and the Czar still supported a strong France; hence, the demand of Prussia for Alsace-Lorraine as a defensive frontier was refused. The treaty, however, changed somewhat the eastern frontiers of France, fixed a heavy indemnity, as a punishment for aiding Napoleon, and left 150,000

The Second Peace of Paris.

[1] "The special guarantee of the work of the Congress was urged by Russia, as well as England and through the negotiations probably came Russia's plan of the Holy Alliance"—Webster, The Congress of Vienna, pp. 83-5.

allied troops within French borders until the indemnity was paid. These terms demanded of the allies some agreement among themselves as to the men and material each was to furnish for the army of occupation. They also necessitated some agreement as to when the armies were to be withdrawn and some understanding as to action in case of a future attack by France.

The second Treaty of Paris thus became the basis of the attempted confederation of Europe. The hundred days' war had clearly shown that, if peace were to be conserved, it must be done by united action. The states were compelled to protect themselves primarily against France, and an alliance would be a guarantee of protection in all legitimate ways. This idea was responsible for both the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance, which for purposes of action were merged into one.

The Holy Alliance.

The Holy Alliance sprang from the brain of Alexander and was a purely idealistic creation. It was merely a Christian union of the nations for the purpose of maintaining peace through alliances that were to be based upon Christian motives and deportment. As designed by Alexander, it was probably entirely inoffensive. It was, of course, under some suspicion as being impractical and thoroughly chimerical, but it was generally considered harmless. England alone among the important states withheld her signature, her representative taking the ground that he had not been instructed in the matter.

The Quadruple Alliance.

About a month later, the Quadruple Alliance, consisting of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, drew up a different kind of treaty. Here the terms were definite and the demands upon each member were clear. The four signatory Powers agreed, in case of a renewal of war by France, to render a definite amount of aid to the member attacked, and to continue aid until France should again be overpowered and forced back within the limits prescribed for her.[2] Primarily, then, the Quadruple Alliance was formed to keep France within bounds. After the long conflict, the continent was sadly in need of peace, and no one dreamed that the alliances would find their real work, not in France and not in resisting efforts at aggrandizement on the part of the states, but rather in the direction of maintaining the established order within the states.

After three years of struggle and effort at economizing, France was

[2] Compare the recent treaties drawn between England and France and the United States and France to protect France against future German aggression.

able to pay her war indemnity and to ask for the removal of the foreign soldiers from her territory. The Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was called in 1818 by the four Powers to act upon the question of the withdrawal of the army, accepted the request of the French, and the territory of France was again freed from foreign troops. France was admitted to membership in the Alliance, which now began to take a broader view of its objects. The growth of liberalism among the German states, especially Prussia, had alarmed Metternich and Alexander. The latter was prepared now to forget his idealism and to show no mercy to those who were engaged in spreading liberal ideas. From this date, 1818, Metternich, who had never halted in his policy of conservatism, had a faithful ally in Alexander.

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The establishment of a general policy of intervention was not easy. In 1815 it had seemed necessary to apply this principle to France because of the danger that a Napoleon or a revolutionary might establish himself in France as a preliminary to an attack upon one of the Powers. In 1815 there was little danger that any of the states could so use their power. Now, however, grew the fear that revolutions might, if permitted anywhere, become so popular in Europe as eventually to destroy the good understanding among the Powers. For this reason, Metternich was bent upon carrying out his plan of a general intervention wherever liberalism showed itself strong.

The Congress was unable to agree upon anything but vague terms which left the idea of intervention in the internal affairs of the states at least indefinite. Two years later, however, at Troppau the three eastern Powers, in opposition to the wishes of England and France, adopted resolutions which left no doubt as to this policy. The Powers agreed to interfere in case of the change of the form of government of any state, even against the expressed wish of the sovereign. At Troppau, the European confederation became a tyrant opposed to all reform and standing in the way of all progress.

England's Objections to the Action of the Powers.

It is to England's credit that she opposed with all her strength this position taken by the Powers. From the first, sensing the dangers of its indefiniteness, she had refused to sign the articles of the Holy Alliance, and had limited the action of the Quadruple Alliance to specially called meetings for specific purposes. France was not so decided in her opposition. The question of interference in Italy was one of great importance to France. Even Louis XVIII could not look kindly upon any further interference in Italy by Austria, and if intervention were agreed upon, all knew that Austria must act as the agent of the Allies. For this reason, rather than from principle, France opposed intervention.

The opposition of England and France was unheeded and not only was the question of Italian intervention agreed to by Russia, Prussia and Austria, but its general right and duty were proclaimed. Austria sent her troops into Italy to assist Ferdinand to re-establish himself upon a despotic throne. The work was done quickly and easily, and then a part of the troops were diverted to overturn revolutionary proceedings in Piedmont on the French border. This, too, was successfully accomplished, but it gave point to the opposition of France, for the establishment of Austrian influence in western Italy was an even greater menace to the integrity of France than was liberalism in Piedmont or than such liberalism could be to Austria.

The growth of conservatism in France made it impossible for that state to retain the confidence of England or to wish to do so. In 1822, at the Congress of Verona, France joined the eastern states in an agreement to intervention in Spain, and was empowered to act as agent to carry out the wishes of the Conference.

Thus far the objections of England had been cheerfully overruled. England had sent no representative to Verona, but had contented herself with instructions to her Austrian ambassador to watch proceedings. Her protests both to the Congress and to the French king were passed over, and in 1823 a French army replaced Ferdinand VII of Spain upon his throne, enabling him to punish all who had taken any part in the revolutionary proceedings.

This was only half the settlement of the Spanish problem. As a result of the continental revolution, the Spanish-American colonies threw off their allegiance to the mother country, and Spain sought the aid of the Congress to enforce obedience among her colonies. Such aid the Congress was ready to give. But England, who was now in a stronger position to protest, declared that she would never permit the allied states to aid Spain in coercing her colonies. Largely as a result of England's suggestion, President Monroe issued his famous doctrine concerning the encroachment of European states upon American soil, and since England was in a position by her control of the seas to enforce her protest, and since she had the backing of the United States, the Powers were unable to aid Spain to recover her lost possessions in America.

The Break-up of the Alliance.

This was the real beginning of the break-up of the Alliance. Little by little the confederation of 1815 had become not an agent for peace, but a power for despotism. Metternich, the great apostle of the old order, had become all powerful in European counsels. The Czar was his faithful disciple, and gradually Prussia was reduced to a mere puppet, unable to oppose his

slightest wish. Apparently, the Metternich system had become dominant, so far as Europe was concerned, and until 1830 the peoples of Europe were held steadily in its control. The fact, however, was not forgotten that this system, in so far as it menaced individual liberty and constitutional government, had been upheld by an Alliance that stood ostensibly for peace and progress.

That the Allies should eventually disagree in the matter of intervention was inevitable. France had been jealous of Austria's intervention in Italy. Prussia and Austria were ready to respect England's opposition to interference in Spain, had not Russia forced Austria to action by the offer of her own army to put down the Spanish disorder. Metternich was too suspicious of the Czar to accept such an offer, or to allow such a procedure. It was better to ignore England's feelings than to permit Russia to send troops across Central Europe. Moreover, it was impossible to ignore the Spanish movement without admitting the impotence of the Allies. Under these conditions, the Conference chose the only available Power to enforce its decrees, and France entered and coerced Spain.

Conservatism in France.

It was in France itself, however, that the most severe blow was dealt the Alliance. The government which undertook the destruction of liberalism in Spain felt sure of its ability to accomplish the same task in France. Gradually under the leadership of the Count of Artois, later Charles X, the conservative party secured control of the French government and took up the task of destroying the Constitution of 1814. Already by 1824, when Louis XVIII died, progress had been made in the limitation of the influence of towns in elections, in the censorship of the press, and finally in the invasion of Spain. Between 1824 and 1830 the conservatism of the king was pronounced enough and bold enough to lead to a revolution so sharp and so strong as to leave no choice of the end. Charles X became a fugitive and the people placed Louis Philippe upon his throne after securing a constitution and determining the king's relation to it.

Here, then, was work for the Allies. In principle, it was the Spanish and Italian revolts over again. There was this difference, however, that France was a great Power and a member of the Alliance. England was on record as opposed to interference in state affairs. France must be coerced, if at all, by the states combined. Would England permit, and were the Allies prepared to undertake, such coercion? The attention of both Russia and Austria being largely confined to the east, interference in France was out of the question. Again, in 1830, when Belgium revolted and set up her own govern-

ment, Prussia was ready to interfere; but England's attitude of definite resistance to such interference and the necessity which Louis Philippe was under to give the revolution his sympathy, again made interference impossible. Self interest and indifference had combined with England's assertions of principle to break up the action of the Alliance.

Death-blow of the Alliance.

Its death-blow, however, was given in connection with another question. As early as 1804, Russia had proposed to England a plan for the settlement of the eastern question. The struggle with Napoleon at that time made the proposal premature and nothing came of it. At the Congress of Vienna the question was not raised, mainly because the Powers recognized the hopelessness of its successful settlement. The dream of Russia to control the Black Sea outlets for her own protection and for the safety of the Greek religion may have been less explicit in 1815, but there would be no difficulty in establishing its existence.

Austria's interest in the Turkish possessions was also recognized by the Congress, since it had extended her territory into Illyria. Likewise, both England and France were jealous of any interference by the Congress which might strengthen the interests of either Russia or Austria. By 1820 it became clear that the Turkish empire was in process of dismemberment. Its military character had waned, because of its inability to continue a conquering career. Based upon the idea that Mohammedans only were real members of the body politic the conqueror had made no effort to fuse the populations, and through the evils of a decaying military state the lot of the Christian population was becoming unbearable.

The Greeks, like other peoples of the empire, had been conquered, but were neither subdued nor reconciled to their lot. In the early part of the nineteenth century a revival of national consciousness had arisen. A national secret society, the Hetaira Philike, encouraged by the attitude of Russia and by the fact that European peace made the civilized peoples more friendly to their cause, began to stir the people to rebellion. Their aspiration was, in a measure, the hope of Europeans in almost every nation, a constitutional government in which the rights of the people should be conserved.

This was one of the many questions which set the Congress of Verona by the ears. Austria hoped to hold England with the Alliance by urging this question for solution. But, just as England could not accept Austria's reason for keeping troops in Italy, could not accept the principle of French interference in Spain, and would not permit

the Allies to aid Spain in the recovery of her American colonies; so she could not agree to give Russia a free hand in Turkey.

The question was debated hotly. Russia was between two fires. Her desire to maintain the Alliance and her national inclination to protest against Turkey's treatment of the Greek Christians and to weaken Turkey were in conflict. Austria, already awake to the possible need of a southeastern outlet for commerce, finally took the side of England, and in the end Russia had to consent to non-interference except in concert with the rest of the Allies.

This settlement proved satisfactory to the Congress, but not to Greece. Left to her own resources, she bravely went ahead. From 1821 to 1829 the struggle continued. On each side it was a war of extermination, and no mercy was shown. European and American people gave sympathy and help to the Greeks, but the four allied governments stood firm. Eventually England, France, and Russia attempted to intercede and to secure autonomy for Greece. Turkey refused and after the unintended battle of Navarino, the Allies withdrew. Turkey, then, in sheer exasperation declared war on Russia, and England and Austria were forced to see Russia fight her way to Constantinople and dictate terms of peace to the Sultan. At the end of the war, in 1829, the Treaty of Adrianople recognized a free Greece, guaranteed by Russia, England, and France; gave autonomy to the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, North of the Danube; added some territories to Asiatic Russia, and secured the recognition of the autonomy of Servia.

The struggle had undermined the vitality of the old Alliance. Interference had been dictated by wholly selfish motives on the part of each of the participants. England's suspicion of Russia was strengthened by the attitude of Nicholas. The new Czar, more national in his aspirations, was little in sympathy with the peace idea of the Alliance. But Greek independence was, in another sense, a blow to the Alliance. The creation of a new state in Europe with a constitutional government was a direct challenge to other portions of Europe to attempt the same thing and to defy the Powers. It is little wonder, therefore, that France and Belgium succeeded so easily in 1830 in overturning the existing governments imposed by the Allies and in establishing one of their own preference.

Causes for Failure.

The idea of a confederation of Europe had failed. That it had been based upon the spirit of Christianity (as interpreted by Russia) and the interests of civilization had not saved it. Two fundamental errors were responsible for its early demise, even if it had not fallen for other reasons. In the first place, the

confederation could not cope with the selfishness that was adherent in the old idea of the state. If state integrity is the great and all comprehending political principle, then no confederation can make a state agree to a course of action which it thinks contrary to its interests. This principle is seen in England's jealousy of French interference in Spain, in Austria's jealousy of Russia's desire to send troops to the west, in English and French jealousy of Austria's activity in Italy. And it must be recognized that these jealousies were all justified. Austria was not acting only as the agent of European civilization in her interference in Italy, nor was France in Spain, nor Russia in Turkey. Behind all other motives lay the idea of adding more territory or influence. In the second place, the alliances exerted a moral as well as military influence against the progress of society within the state. Here Castlereagh and Canning led the way in a protest that was based upon principle as well as upon self interest. England had been mightily moved by the French Revolution, and her statesmen were forced to take into account the will of public opinion. Were all the cravings of peoples for the growth of personal rights and constitutional privileges to be suppressed? If so, England was betraying her own heritage and betraying all other peoples in whom the love of liberty had manifested itself.

The attempts to keep the peace of Europe by a confederation of the states had failed, because, in the final analysis, actions were based upon selfish interests and upon a conservatism of which Europe was getting ready to rid herself. Those of us, therefore, who are looking forward to confederate action as the basis of world peace must remember that to be successful, we must change almost entirely our preconceived ideas of the position of the state in society. Is the state an end in itself? Does the state have moral obligations which it must maintain under all circumstances? Shall international relations be maintained as sacred even at the expense of state relations? These, with many other questions of a like nature, are leading us to see more clearly than ever before just why the attempted confederation of Europe failed after 1815 and why the issue of a League of Nations is so difficult at the present time. The present League must accept the right principles of relationship or it must fail. Hence the importance of correctly determining these principles if the League is to become anything more than a series of European alliances.

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CHAPTER III

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

THERE was never any formal break of the alliances organized in Paris in 1814 to guard the peace against France. After the difficulties attending the settlement of Spain and the issuance of the Monroe doctrine, no more formal meetings were called. The Greek Revolution and the Revolutions of 1830 made it seem hopeless to attempt any common action.

Russia Tests the Confederation of Europe.

As was natural, Russia was the first Power to test formally the authority and energy of the old league. This was natural because in the Greek wars she had failed to act in harmony with the Western Powers and it was soon clear that she had very definite designs on Turkey that would test to its limit the old confederation of Europe. This test came when Russia decided to push her way to the Black Sea at the expense of Turkey, just before the Crimean war, 1854-1856. As a result, both Great Britain and Austria protested. After some negotiation, Great Britain and France, despairing of any allied action, declared war on Russia; and at its close they invited the other Powers of Europe to participate in the treaty which was made in Paris in 1856. This conference deliberately permitted the Austrian-Italian controversy to be brought before it, so that, in a sense at least, it acted as an European Congress to settle European difficulties. Moreover, in its settlement of the Russian-Turkish question, it demanded of Russia that she should accept the common judgment of Europe in the affairs of Turkey instead of posing as the sole arbiter of those affairs. This congress and treaty in a rather formal sense established in the place of the Quadruple Alliance, the "European Concert" of the Powers, by which affairs, especially in the Near East, were to be judged and settled.

That the "European Concert" was to confine its efforts to the Near East rather than to the whole of Europe was soon seen. Under the leadership of Bismarck, Prussia, within the decade, began that series of events which led to the establishment of the German Empire in 1871. There were no serious attempts made by any neutral state to force Prussia to substitute the "European Concert" in place of her own judgment and action. If the neutrals were somewhat disturbed by Bismarck's work, they showed it as little as possible,

and he was permitted to continue his efforts until they were crowned with success by the defeat of France in 1871 and the formal establishment of the German Empire.

Seven years later, after vain efforts to secure common action of the European states in regard to the limitation of Turkish powers in Europe, Russia began a war upon Turkey and successfully completed it by the treaty of San Stefano, signed in 1878. This treaty was at once challenged by both Austria and Great Britain, and when Germany refused to back Russia the latter was forced to allow a congress to be called to revise her treaty of San Stefano with Turkey.

In many ways the Congress of Berlin is the most important diplomatic event of the century, after the Congress of Vienna. It served final notice on Russia that she was not to be allowed to go to Constantinople except with the consent of the Great Powers, and at the same time it gave the participating states an opportunity to reëstablish each its own outlook under the new conditions which followed the rearrangement of central Europe in 1871. As a result there was considerable change in the foreign relations of the states. There was no change in the relations of Great Britain and Russia nor of France and Russia. The Congress strengthened, perhaps, the antagonism of Austria and Russia and outwardly made no change in the Russian-German relations, although in truth it was the moment when Germany chose to substitute an alliance with Austria for the former alliance with Russia.

The Congress of Berlin.

Let us consider first some of the terms which the Congress imposed upon Russia and Turkey. The treaty of San Stefano had established a Bulgaria which extended across the Turkish possessions in Europe and, as Austria and England believed, gave Russia a direct pathway to the Aegean sea. This territory the Congress of Berlin altered, giving back Macedonia to Turkey while the southern half of the remaining territory was made semi independent as the province of Roumelia. The portion left to Bulgaria was also better guarded against Russian influence. This was the most important article from the British viewpoint; hence, Great Britain was well satisfied with the work of the Congress. The 25th article of the treaty dealt with the western provinces of European Turkey. Bosnia and Herzogovina were given over to Austria to administer for Turkey. "The provinces of Bosnia and Herzogovina shall be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. The government of Austria-Hungary not desiring to undertake the administration of the sanjak of Novi-Bazar, ... the Ottoman administration will continue to exercise its functions there. . . . . Austria reserves the

Terms of the Congress.

right of keeping garrisons and having military and commercial roads in the whole of this part of the ancient villayet of Bosnia."

In article 26 the independence of Montenegro was recognized, and its boundaries were established, bringing its territories to the sea but carefully limiting its sovereignty in its relations with Austria-Hungary, especially with respect to the Adriatic coast. This article had its origin in an agreement between Russia and Austria whereby Russia offered Austria this district in return for the intended encroachments of Russia in Bulgaria. The Congress, however, saw fit to establish Austria here while forcing Russia out of Bulgaria, in order more nearly to balance the interests of the two Powers in the peninsula and the better to check Russian aggression.

In the meantime, Great Britain had strengthened her position by a separate treaty with Turkey whereby she received the island of Cyprus and became responsible for the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte in Asia Minor. The Congress then recognized the independence of Servia and Roumania, carefully redrawing their boundaries, however, in the interests of Turkey; and recognized Russian accessions of territory in Asia. The Congress also reaffirmed the work and settlements of the Treaty of Paris and of the Treaty of London in 1871.[1] The latter treaty had modified the Treaty of Paris by the recognition of the rights of Russia in the Black sea, and had reaffirmed the rest of the Treaty.

Bismarck's Policy at the Congress.

These, then, are the important settlements of the Congress of Berlin. They made a world of difference in the diplomatic relations of the great Powers. Bismarck had received the firm support of the Czar both in 1866 and in 1871 in the establishment of the German Empire, and, as "the honest broker," entered the Congress of Berlin unprejudiced and with "no axe to grind", as he affirmed. Russia fully expected to have his support in the Congress and it was largely this hope that made her so willing to refer the Treaty of San Stefano to the Congress for its sanction.

But "the honest broker" believed that he had paid his obligations in 1870 when he had permitted Russia to ignore the article of the Treaty of Paris relative to keeping Russia out of the Black Sea. Therefore, he now readily sanctioned the demands of Austria and Great Britain that Bulgaria be divided into two parts in order to

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[1] Bismarck had suggested to Russia in 1870 that the war with France gave to Russia her opportunity to abolish the clause of the Treaty of Paris which excluded the naval power of Russia from the Black Sea. This was done to insure Germany against Russia's interference in the war with France.

keep Russia from the Aegean Sea. Further, he actively supported Austria's claims in Bosnia-Herzogovina, on the ground that this did not destroy the sovereignty of Turkey over this part of her domains and that it did reduce the probability of further internal difficulties in Turkey. Russia had the surprise of seeing her supposed ally very definitely supporting her enemies; and the leader of the Russian representatives, Gortchakov, left Berlin with the assertion that the Congress had been the greatest humiliation which he had ever suffered as well as Russia's greatest diplomatic defeat.

As a matter of fact, Gortchakov was right; for while the Congress reasserted the authority of "The European Concert," it was made very evident that such authority had for its primary purpose the defeat of Russia and the selfish interests of the states, rather than the peace of Europe founded upon any principles of justice.

It is quite probable that Bismarck entered the Congress with the feeling that Germany had no direct interest in the settlement of the Balkan peninsula; but, if so, it did not take him long to see that this settlement had a very direct relation to the whole European situation and he concluded that Germany must, therefore, carefully use the Congress to safeguard her interests in Europe. He had in 1866 recognized the danger of driving Austria to desperation. He had therefore stopped the German army before it got to Vienna and had made the terms of the treaty of 1866 very lenient for Austria. He already saw an enemy in France and wished to avoid the disaster of uniting Austria and France against Germany. This carefulness in 1866 possibly saved such an outcome in 1871, but Bismarck clearly foresaw such a possibility because he felt sure that France would exert every endeavor to create such an alliance after 1871. Therefore, even before the Congress met, Bismarck knew that he wanted to reëstablish friendship with Austria. This the Congress made possible by recognizing an agreement that Russia and Austria had accepted before the Congress met. That this agreement was based upon Russia's freedom of action in Bulgaria which the Congress in an earlier article destroyed, made no difference to Bismarck. The chance of making a friend in Austria was too good to let slip. Moreover, Russia could not very openly resent it, for she had no friend to turn to. Bismarck figured rightly that he could lay the foundation for friendship with Austria and retain Russia's alliance, because Russia was in no position to break her alliance with Germany in view of the cordon of enemies she saw about her. As for Great Britain, she needed no careful consideration. All the Powers were agreed that Russia must not encroach too much

upon Turkey, and Great Britain cared for no further continental relations in 1878.

Diplomatic Results of Congress.

The first and most direct diplomatic result, therefore, was that Russia was finally made to see that she could not secure her warm water port on the Aegean without an attack upon Europe which she was in no position to undertake. Whether later she would find herself in such a position, remained to be seen. The most important diplomatic result of the Congress was to lay the basis of the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria and thus with Italy's entrance a little later to create a further cause for uneasiness and fear among the Great Powers.

Bismarck was very clear in his mind about the first result. He reasoned that Russia's next attack upon Turkey would come through Vienna or Berlin, which certainly made all the more necessary the alliance with Austria. The first definite step toward the Triple Alliance was made in the following year when Germany and Austria entered into a defensive alliance against the encroachment of all their enemies. This agreement was at first meant, not to break the German alliance with Russia, but to safeguard Germany against any attempt of Russia to find a basis for alliance against Germany. That this is true is proved by the many attempts of Bismarck to maintain good relations with Russia and to prove by his actions that he had been honest in the Congress of Berlin. The result was that the German Alliance with Russia was continued and was enlarged to include Austria for a long period following 1878.

Relations of the Powers.

Bismarck was very careful also at the Congress of Berlin to guard against any chance of Russia and France becoming friends. In this he was greatly assisted by France, and for the time he succeeded in strengthening the old antagonisms of these two Powers. But, in both Russia and France, keen eyed statesmen saw the necessity for friendship between these two nations because of the danger common to both lurking in the German-Austrian Alliance. When therefore the Dual Alliance was strengthened by the adherence of Italy, both France and Russia recognized that this new German Empire had recast the entire diplomatic situation and had substituted for "The Concert of Europe" a Triple Alliance that, while intent upon keeping the peace, was candidly intent upon a peace in the interests of the three central European Powers.

England's relations with the continent during this period were unfortunate. From a frankly aggressive policy in 1854-1856, under the leadership of Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), she had receded to a

laissez faire policy.[2] In reality one was not more selfish than the other. Beaconsfield was intent, in the Crimean war, on defending the English routes to India against Russia's attempt to block them. In 1878 Lord Salisbury had accepted a policy which, after thwarting Russia, proclaimed that Great Britain was not concerned with European matters. That English statesmen after voting to divide the newly created Bulgaria should then have voted to admit Austrian possession of Bosnia-Herzogovina, shows at least ignorance of what was happening in Europe, if not a definitely selfish feeling of indifference as long as her own direct interests were guarded.

Failures of Alliances.

It is, thus, not difficult to trace through its diplomacy the failure of the attempt of 1815 to find a method of keeping the peace of Europe. The Quadruple Alliance and the Holy Alliance were unsuccessful because of the failure of statesmen to recognize the need of satisfying small states as well as large states, if war was to be averted; and, because of their inability to distinguish clearly between the changes of feeling within the states and their international relationship. The attempt, therefore, to repress liberalism within the states made inevitable the failures of the Alliances. But, of course, it must be remembered that the problem of liberalism in 1815 naturally associated itself with the problem of nationality; and that the two working together made doubly difficult the matter of keeping peace, while both these new ideas were trying to work out their relations to government and to state.

The European Concert.

So when the Alliances failed, there was substituted for them the plan of "The European Concert", which definitely charged itself with managing the problem of the Balkans and Turkey, and, perhaps unconsciously, assumed charge of maintaining the European situation in behalf of the small states of Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxemburg which had been recognized by the old Alliances as perpetually neutral. With reference to the rest of Europe "The European Concert" proposed no plan of action and took no formal position. As a result, Prussia had changed the face of central Europe without any interference by the rest of the Powers; and this action had quieted any suspicion that the Great Powers assumed responsibility for the peace of Europe aside from the South East and the neutralized states.

For a time each state went its own way. Great Britain had selfishly withdrawn to look after her own interests, ignoring the possibility of a future attempt by a Napoleon to despoil her great empire. France had become isolated from all the Powers through the work

[2] Laissez faire policy; that is, leaving things to take care of themselves.

of the Revolution and the action of her statesmen, and, gradually, Russia was divided from Europe by the action of Bismarck.

The Balance of Power.

Then came the Triple Alliance as a substitute for the old Alliances and "The European Concert." Gradually, therefore, Europe had shifted back to the eighteenth century idea of the Balance of Power to maintain peace in Europe. It is not surprising that Europe gave this policy such credence, for it had a long historical background. Since the time of the Tudors in England the Balance of Power had been the mainstay of European peace. That it was purely selfish did not change the situation, for so far, no other permanent basis of peace had been discovered, and men even believed that there could be no other basis.

But when we credit Bismarck and the Triple Alliance with the long peace of Europe, it should be remembered that the long period of peace was largely due to the animosities between the important states of Europe outside the Alliance and partly due to the fact that Germany with the rest of Europe was too busy building up her internal structure during this period of peace, to assume the aggressive in matters relating to other states. We should also remember that the Triple Entente was the only answer possible to the selfish basis of the Triple Alliance and that Bismarck and his work were the main causes for the division of Europe into the two hostile camps which they occupied at the outbreak of the war in 1914.

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CHAPTER IV

RECENT DIPLOMACY AND PEACE

The Triple Alliance.

THE Triple Alliance consisting of Germany, Austria and Italy was in its beginning purely a defensive measure. It was intended only to supplement the European Concert. It aided this Concert by acting in a capacity in which this organization had never tried to act; namely, as administrator in purely European affairs. Moreover, the Triple Alliance was not designed to aid any except those who were its members. It protected Germany from attack by France or Russia, strengthened Italy against France and made Austria safe from Russian aggression. Its only claim to being an agent of peace lay in the certainty of the Powers that France or Russia really contemplated an attack upon one or more of the three members of the Alliance. Of course, this is as difficult to prove as that the Alliance itself was interested in peace for peace's sake. No one can doubt that all the members of the Alliance wanted peace. Germany was intent upon her own internal development. Austria was busily trying to secure this development and to solve the impossible task of reconciling a group of discontented nationalities. As for Italy, she had many internal problems of her own.

On the other hand, the Triple Alliance definitely disturbed the peace of Europe in so far as it made clear to France or Russia or to Great Britain the possibility of a future attack. France had suffered at the hands of Germany in 1870 and had no real assurance that she might not have to suffer again. If she hoped ever to regain her lost provinces she must secure allies, and France was prepared in 1879 to match the alliance of Germany and Austria by one of her own. Russia did not reach a conclusion so quickly because she had not suffered from German aggression. But it now seems clear to most students of European diplomacy that Russia might have moved toward such an alliance to her own advantage immediately after the Congress of Berlin.

The Triple Entente.

It is, therefore, certain that the Triple Alliance made necessary its counterpart, the Triple Entente, consisting of France, Russia, and England, which was finally consummated when Great Britain and Russia came to an agreement in southern Asia in 1907. To reach this conclusion it is not necessary to assert that the members of the Triple Entente meant to use the Alliance for

offensive purposes. It was apparently a purely defensive measure and one should recognize that the Triple Alliance had in reality forced all Europe into the old method of keeping peace by a balancing of the Powers against each other. The defensive character of the Triple Entente is emphasized both by the history of its organization and the character of its terms. So long as Germany was interested in keeping up the alliance with Russia and did not feel strong enough to defy her, little progress was made in establishing the Franco-Russian Alliance. In 1888 the terms of the Triple Alliance were first published by Germany to check Russian aggression and as a challenge to Russia to walk carefully. When in 1890 the Emperor dismissed Bismarck he also set aside the latter's policy of friendship with Russia. William II adopted the new policy because of his own strength and Russia's weakness; he could not see, with the statesman's eyes, that such a course must lead to the end which Bismarck had feared. Consequently, a series of friendly acts led directly to the Franco-Russian Alliance, and when the German Emperor celebrated the opening of the Kiel Canal in 1895, he had the opportunity of seeing the French and Russian fleets enter the canal together in token of the new friendship of the two states. So, also, the Emperor had only himself to blame for the final consummation of a long attempt to bring about better relations between France and England. His own attitude in the Boer war and the announcement of a great naval policy made possible the direct English attempt to make friends with France, this understanding being due almost wholly to the uneasiness which Great Britain felt at the language and the acts of the German Emperor. So it was also with the Anglo-Russian understanding. The fear of England that Germany was definitely laying the basis for an attack, both commercial and military, upon India, together with Russia's fear of her activities in southeastern Europe and western Asia, led to the establishment of the Triple Entente in 1907 by a treaty of understanding between Great Britain and Russia.

Europe Since 1907.

After 1907 the European world stood at bay. This was the most fundamental product of Bismarck's attempt to defend Germany by the organization of the Triple Alliance. The situation of 1907 was produced by the Triple Alliance plus the German policy of aggression, which made Great Britain and Russia as well as France fear for their defense. From 1907 to 1914 both the Alliances were busy strengthening themselves among the weaker states, preparing for the time when hostilities should come to a focus and hoping for some way to avert the calamity.

It may be worth while to follow more closely the incidents which

led immediately to the strained relations of 1907 and to trace their course to the outbreak of war, in order to show the difficulty with which peace was kept throughout the period of this seven years. Two men may be credited with the shaping of European policy opposed to Germany, from the opening of the twentieth century. These men were Delcassé, premier of France, and Edward VII of England. It was strongly asserted in 1898 that Germany favored an European alliance against England and that she made some efforts to win France to such an alliance.[1] If this assertion is true, it was the French statesman who frustrated the attempt. Delcassé was a strong nationalist and as such hated Germany because of her possession of Alsace-Lorraine. There could be to him only one condition for a better feeling toward Germany and that was the return of the lost provinces. He did not feel that the Alliance with Russia was strong enough for France; therefore, he at once began an effort to reconcile France and England. He became foreign minister during the French-English trouble over Egypt and was the author of the compromise by which that trouble was overcome. By giving up French claims in Egypt he was able through the aid of Edward VII in the next few years to settle all the outstanding colonial quarrels between France and Great Britain and to secure the coöperation of the latter, in all the French colonial activities. Moreover, it was through the influence of Delcassé that much of the hostility between Great Britain and Russia was overcome. After the Russo-Japanese war it was not difficult to bring the two Powers together, although this was not accomplished until 1907, after the resignation of Delcassé from the French ministry. Delcassé was also successful in bringing about better relations with Italy, so that Germany began to view with alarm the fast growing strength of the opposed Alliance which in 1907 consisted of the members of the Triple Entente, the Dual Alliance of England and Japan and a good understanding of both France and England with Italy.

Delcassé's Nationalism.

It has been asserted that the Moroccan crisis of 1907 was precipitated by Germany to break up the Triple Entente as much as or more than it was intended to secure an understanding about colonial territory; the published interviews of the German premier seem to strengthen this view of the matter. For some years the French had been interested in Morocco and by 1905 they, together with Spain, held strong control of both political and economic affairs. When Germany questioned this French control, the German emperor visited Morocco and delivered a speech to the Sultan in

The Moroccan Question.

[1] See Hayes, Modern Europe II, p. 701.

which he referred to Morocco as an independent country and to the Sultan as an independent sovereign. The speech produced a crisis in Europe. Russia had just been defeated by Japan. France, being unable to secure aid from her, could not accept the German challenge. After a considerable period of negotiation, a conference was called to settle the matter; to this conference representatives of the important states of Europe were summoned, the United States also being asked to participate. This conference, held at Algeciras in Spain, early in 1906, decided practically all questions in favor of France, although France was to allow equal economic opportunity to all peoples and to recognize the territorial sovereignty of the country. Delcassé, who refused to accept the decisions of the conference, was forced to resign from the ministry and Germany generally accepted the work of the conference as highly satisfactory, although it gave her no chance for strengthening her position in the country. A second crisis over Moroccan affairs came in 1911, after further difficulties in 1909 which had been referred to the Hague tribunal for settlement. The Germans, dissatisfied with the settlement of 1909, forced von Buelow out of office and Bethmann-Hollweg at once began seeking an opportunity to reopen the question. In 1911 a German gunboat, "The Panther", was sent to the port of Agadir in Morocco because of the French occupation of the capital, Fez. Germany claimed that the gunboat was necessary to protect her interests in Morocco. The crisis was even more acute than that of 1907. Russia had not yet recovered from her war with Japan, so could give no aid; but Great Britain at once declared that she would support France, and Germany had to accept a second convention in which she was forced to recognize the right of the French to control political affairs in Morocco, while France agreed to maintain the open door to commerce and, in addition, she ceded to Germany some territory in the French Congo.

The Algeciras Conference.

The Moroccan affair may be viewed as an effort of Germany to secure a foothold in a new colonial district which had not yet been completely taken over. This attempt was made too late. It may also be viewed as a deliberate attack on the Franco-British Alliance, as well as an effort to force Italy back to her allegiance. In this the attempt failed disastrously. It may be added that instead of breaking up the opposed Alliances, the Moroccan affairs materially strengthened them and at the same time drew tighter the cords by which European peace was kept, for both in France and in Germany the feeling against the other nation grew more bitter.

There was one other center in which, during this period, diplomatic affairs had almost plunged the nations into war before 1914.

The Young Turk Revolution.

In 1908 there was carried out in Turkey the Young Turk revolution which had for its express purpose the nationalization of Turkey and her independence from the leading strings of the European Concert. This revolution weakened the German alliances, first, because for some time it was impossible to tell whether the Young Turk would favor or oppose Germany; and, secondly, because Austria decided that owing to the uncertainty of Turkey's position she should take this moment to secure for herself complete possession of Bosnia-Herzogovina, the Turkish provinces on the Adriatic Sea, which she had been administrating since 1878. This seizure embarrassed Germany not only because it aroused Turkish hostility to Austria, but also because it very gravely compromised the Triple Alliance, since Italy feared Austrian aggression in the Adriatic Sea far more than she feared France.[2]

The Young Turk was finally won over to consenting to this seizure, but Italy saw that Germany was bent on satisfying Austria even at Italy's expense, and she therefore held her alliance with the Central Powers the more lightly. This event undoubtedly quickened Italy's resolution to attack Tripoli five years later, although it embarrassed Germany as greatly as Austria's work in 1908.

Finally, the Young Turk revolution precipitated a quarrel between Turkey and Greece over the island of Crete as well as a quarrel of all the Balkan states over Macedonia. The Young Turk wished to nationalize Crete and Greece was forced to interfere in order to guard Greek nationality in the island. The European Concert was wholly powerless, because it was already divided into two hostile camps. Venizelos, the Greek premier, seized the opportunity to develop the alliance of Servia, Bulgaria and Greece against Turkey, which eventually precipitated the war of 1913. The war of 1913 resulted in the defeat of Turkey but the allies could not agree upon a division of the territory taken from her. The result of this lack of accord was a second war among the Balkan states in which Roumania sided with the allies and Bulgaria was forced to accept a very disadvantageous peace, which further weakened the Triple Alliance, both Turkey and Bulgaria being reckoned as friends of this Alliance and both having suffered material losses in the two wars.

Thus, by the year 1914, Germany and her allies could look back to 1907 and count event after event in the diplomatic world which had

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[2] See Part III, Chapter 3, "The Young Turk and the Great Powers."

gone against them, and could readily see no way to break through the cordon of enemies drawn around them except by war. Thus the diplomatic events of July and early August of 1914 have little significance beyond giving the historian further evidences of Germany's resolve to break up the opposing alliances, even at the expense of war, and some evidence of her attempt to justify her actions on the ground of self defense.

One can readily understand the courteous treatment of the United States by the European Powers since 1900. One can also understand the reason why our statesmen have continued since 1898 to assert our adherence to the principles of the Monroe Doctrine and Washington's Farewell Address. It is possible that had we frankly asserted our adherence to the one or the other of the alliances we might have forced the other alliance to acquiescence in any and all demands without a war; yet this is altogether unlikely and it is equally as easy to assert that such a course must have precipitated a war the more quickly.[3]

The Foreign Policy of the United States.

But there has been a greater principle at stake in both our foreign relations and the recent war than the mere desire to save any one group of states or even all the European states from the consequence of their own sins of omission and commission. This principle is the fundamental one that any nation or state has the right to secure what she wants by war and to protect herself by secret alliances designed to enable her to pursue her plans against one or all of her neighbors because of their fear of her strength. Europe tried to get away from this system of diplomacy by substituting some common understanding among the great states, but she failed because no one of the states was able to forego the possibility of a greater success through depending upon her own adroitness and strength. The smaller states of Europe have looked on in this contest of power, knowing full well that they must be the pawns without the power to do more than acquiesce when they seemed to be in the way, and thankful when they occupied a position favorable because out of the way. The United States has been wise in standing aloof from European alliances of every kind. She has been able to continue her internal development which in the past has been her great problem, and to expand as necessity and opportunity afforded the chance, without fear of attack. She could have continued in this course as long as the old alliances of Europe had retained the methods by which Europe kept the peace. Neither of the alliances

The Adherence of the Powers to Secret Alliances.

[3] See Part VII Chapter 1 for a more complete discussion of the foreign policy of the United States.

would have dared to attack her, because of their fear of precipitating an attack by the opposed alliance or of weakening the state attacking to such an extent as to make uncertain the balance of power in Europe.

The Hague Peace Conventions.

With this diplomatic background, came the war of 1914. Surely it is not difficult to see that one of the results of the war must be the destruction of the old, impossible diplomatic situation. This idea had been in the consciousness of statesmen for a long time before 1914 but they had found the old system too strong to break. The Hague peace conventions which met in 1899 and in 1907 succeeded in establishing an international court of arbitration to which disputes between states could be referred, made clearer the laws of war, prohibited the use of dum-dum (tearing) and poisoned bullets, and asphyxiating gases, and agreed not to use balloons for dropping explosives. The congresses were unable, however, to make any progress in the limitation of armaments, and although a third congress was recommended, it had not been called when war was declared. But in addition to the Hague conferences, other agencies were at work, agitating for a better understanding among nations. Societies were formed in all the European states, as well as in America, for the purpose of furthering the work of peace. Labor organizations were outspoken and it seemed to many people that such progress had been made that war would henceforth be impossible. However, statesmen the world over have seen the dangers of the old situation while they were powerless to remedy it.

A League of Peace.

Thus it seemed that as the close of the Great World War was reached, the most important thing for the Peace Congress to consider was the finding of some method of avoiding future wars. The voice of the people everywhere demanded it, in order that the old conditions should not return. The publication of the early allied treaties strengthened this feeling, for these secret treaties made it clear that the allies had not departed far from their older, selfish diplomacy. These treaties were not only a menace to the immediate settlement of peace, but even more surely they made impossible the long continuation of peace.

This feeling throughout the world was directly responsible for the League of Nations as outlined by the Peace Congress. It must also be recognized that the League as it was drawn was largely due to the great confidence of European peoples in the American people. The statesmen of Europe felt this confidence, too, and believed that the time had arrived for ending the old régime, which all hated but which alone seemed to serve the individual state in its relation with other states. This attitude of Europe made the American people ready to

lay aside their long treasured policy of isolation, while the growing dangers of such isolation made our best statesmen ready to accept the new policy. Whatever may happen to the League of Nations in the future the nations entered a new era in world relations in 1919.

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PART III

THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING OF THE PROBLEM

Geography of the Balkan Peninsula.

GEOGRAPHICALLY, the Balkan Peninsula has always been the pathway of conquering peoples as well as a commercial highway between Asia and Europe. The mountains and waterways, instead of opening the peninsula to settlement, have made it rather the pathway to lands beyond its confines. The Romans laid out three main roads across the peninsula. One of these started from Durazzo on the Adriatic Sea, led through the mountain gaps to Salonica, thence by the old Persian road to Constantinople. A second started from Fiume or Trieste to the valley of the Save River, thence winding southward to Sofia and eastward to Adrianople; while the third left the second in the Save valley and followed the Danube River to the old Roman province of Dacia, now Roumania.

In modern times the roads have made some important divergences. The Danube road has taken to the river, as being more practicable. The middle road has developed a very important branch which from Belgrade southward to Salonica along the Vardar River is the roadway that until 1914 both Servia and Austria have been desirous of controlling. This same main traveled road developed another important branch from Adrianople southward along the Maritza River to the Aegean, controlling the lands and harbors which have been the heart's desire of Bulgaria since its foundation in 1878. Generally the lands of the peninsula are mountainous and poor, repaying the farmer in a niggardly way, while the valleys, which contain the richer land, are short and narrow.

The Inhabitants of the Balkans.

As early as the third century the Slavs began their incursions into the peninsula. "By the end of the sixth century this immigration had become an invasion. They disputed the possession of the land with the original inhabitants, driving them to the mountains as the Anglo-Saxons did the Celts of Britain." The Slav penetrated to all parts of the peninsula and has left his influence in modern Greece. In Albania as in Greece, he was

largely absorbed; but in Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria he became dominant. Into this Serbian population the Bulgars broke in the seventh century, and established themselves as conquerors. Who they were or what tongue they spoke is still disputed. The Slav absorbed the Bulgar to the extent of giving him his speech and the greater part of his customs. However, these gifts did not prevent the Bulgars from retaining their individuality or from regarding the Slav as their hereditary enemy.

From the invasion of the Bulgars to the invasion of the Turk in the fourteenth century, the history of the peninsula is similar to that of the early European peoples. The people were busy establishing customs, reforming the language, establishing trade, and cultivating the soil. Among them came the Eastern invaders, the Turks, who at the great battle of Kossovo in 1448 took over the control of the peninsula. Under the rule of the Turk, the people lost a great deal that they had gained in the earlier period. They lost their knowledge of the art of war as well as many of the arts of peace. Trade and commerce and manufactures were largely destroyed. Heavy and irregular taxes took the spirit out of the people so that they became little better than serfs. The Turk, however, did not destroy the religion of the people nor interfere with their national habits and customs. These and their language were kept intact, and, when the power of the Turk began to wane after his struggles with western Europe, the people still possessing the germs of a national existence, became filled with the desire to throw off the conqueror's control and with the waning of Turkish power the growth of the unity of the peoples began again.

"The grim, raw races springing and rushing forward in all directions frighten me a good deal", wrote Mr. Robert Lytton, the English ambassador to Vienna, in the middle of the last century. To him the supreme example of this grimness and rawness was the ruling prince of Servia, Obronovitch, an ex-pig driver who had been guilty of at least a dozen murders in forcing his way to the leadership of his people.[1]

"The story of the rise to the surface of these 'grim raw races' rivals the story of the English Robin Hood. While their countrymen were enslaved they kept up the spirit of nationality and their struggle against the oppressor from their mountain fastnesses and forest homes. The patriot outlaw in the greenwood, the folk bard among the peasantry, these nourished their kindred's passion for freedom and implacable hatred for the Turk."[2] Little by little the people secured

[1] Macdonald, Turkey and the Eastern Question, p. 9.
[2] Macdonald, Turkey and the Eastern Question, p. 39.

their autonomy and their independence from the Turk, usually with the aid of the great European Powers. All Europe has remained the enemy of the Turk because of his hostility to the arts of civilization. Because of this enmity, or for the sale of some national advantage to the power concerned, and possibly sometimes for the sake of the Balkan peoples themselves, Russia, Austria, and England in turn or in concert have created the six independent states of the peninsula. Montenegro had never wholly submitted to the Turk, and, secure in their mountain fastnesses, its people had kept up the long fight for independence. Greece secured her freedom through allied aid in 1830, while Servia, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Albania took advantage of the quarrels of the Great Powers to gain their independence. Yet, in spite of independence, the peninsula remains a patchwork of nationalities. There is no possibility of geographical lines separating races, and religion joins with race in fighting for adherents. As Mr. Macdonald puts it, "The best example of this Balkan peculiarity was the man who said he was a Greek, but he was born in Bulgaria, his father was a Serbian, and his children were Montenegrins."

The Ottoman Turk found his way into Europe after being driven from his home in the highlands of central Asia by the Mongol hordes. In Asia Minor he enlarged his territory and strengthened his position by defeating the Seljuk Turks and the representatives of the Greek empire until he had secured a good footing and had founded a dynasty. When Othman, who gave his name to the dynasty, died in 1300, he had become the virtual lord of Asia Minor.

Causes for the Advent of the Turk.

This advent of the Turk into Europe resulted from the breakup of the Greek empire which was due to many causes. There had come into southeastern Europe a strong element of Slavs who scattered themselves well over the peninsula and defied the power of the Greek emperors. These Slavs and Bulgars had taken possession of the western and northern portion of the peninsula and were gradually encroaching upon Macedonia. Here, to save themselves, the Greeks first called the Turks across the Bosphorus to aid in expelling these Slavs.

The Fourth Crusade, perhaps above all other causes, aided in introducing the Turk into Europe by its weakening of the Greek empire. Its control of Constantinople lasted only about a half century, but during that time it completed the destruction of the eastern empire in the Balkans, so weakening it that it was wholly unable to withstand the many assaults of its enemies in both the east and the west. Moreover, it fostered the internal quarrels which

were fast sapping the strength of the Greeks and which were finally to complete their disruption. These three causes, the invasion of the Balkan Peninsula by the Slavs, the capture of Byzantium in the Fourth Crusade, and internal strife in the empire itself, added to the conquest of the Asiatic portions of the Greek empire by Othman and his son, paved the way for the entrance of the Turks into Europe.

As said above, they were first invited to cross the Bosphorus to aid the Greek emperor against the Slavs who were invading Macedonia. After one or two successful campaigns, they remained in Europe and ere long the Greek emperor was chagrined to find that the Turk had begun the struggle with the Slav on his own account. It is unnecessary to follow this struggle, which has two strong landmarks: the battle of Kossovo in 1448, where the Serb was finally conquered and the Turk became master of the peninsula; and the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, which in some respects was less important than the former battle, but which completed the mastery of the Greek empire in the Balkans, and "definitely planted a new nation on European soil."

The Turk, a Foreigner in Europe.

The Turk, however, like most Asiatic peoples, has never adjusted himself to European ways and civilization. He has remained an Asiatic, a stranger to the peoples in his new home, and unwilling to become other than the nomad and fighter of the Asiatic plains. However, the Turk has partially accepted the inheritance of the Greek empire, for he has supported the Greek church and has encouraged it in its struggle with the Western church. He has always been tolerant in religious affairs. Hardly was he settled in his new capital before he ordered the election of a Greek Patriarch in the Eastern church, who was taught to look to the Sultan for the maintenance of his rights and privileges.

Prior to the twentieth century, the Turks never made any attempt to absorb the conquered peoples, nor have they permitted assimilation with the conquered peoples. Many years ago, Mr. Freeman pointed out this peculiarity of the Turk: "The Turks, though they have been in some parts of Turkey for five hundred years, have still never become the people of the land, nor have they in any way become one with the people of the land. They still remain as they were when they first came in, a people of strangers bearing rule over the people of the land, but in every way distinct from them." This peculiar characteristic has been very strong in the Turk. There is not another instance in history, with the exception of the Jew, where the relatively small numbers of the invaders have not been absorbed by or partially absorbed by the peoples of the land. But the Turk

has kept himself apart. He has made the infidel pay tribute or become Mohammedan, but he has never insisted on the latter alternative and comparatively few of the conquered peoples have accepted Islamism.

Moreover, the Turk has so carefully cultivated the antagonisms of religions and nationalities, that the Balkan peninsula has continued to be a hotbed of religious, racial, and national dissensions. The Turk has indolently and placidly collected his revenues and retained his military superiority with little effort since the conquered peoples were hopelessly divided among themselves. These characteristics of the Turks have aided wonderfully their conquests in Europe and Asia Minor. Their administration during the period of their growth in strength was good and under Suleiman the Magnificent in the sixteenth century "there was no kingdom in Europe better administered."

The Janissaries.

During this period of organization and conquest there was one other feature which bespoke success. In the organization of the army the corps of the Janissaries stands out as unique. This body which was probably organized in the fourteenth century, was made up of Christian boys who were taken from their parents in early life, and trained as warrior monks. Once in four years agents passed through the country to choose one boy in five, the strongest and healthiest, to become a Mohammedan warrior monk knowing no relatives or family, a warrior slave of the Sultan. This force, at first one thousand strong and eventually reaching twenty thousand in number, was the backbone of the Turkish control until in the sixteenth century it began to deteriorate, because of the introduction of marriage and an edict making the order hereditary. In 1826 the Sultan found it necessary to abolish the order, and razed the quarter of Constantinople which it had appropriated.

The Waning of Turkish Authority.

The sixteenth century in reality marks the waning of the authority of the Turks. Then their conquests ended, and since their peculiar strength was centered in conquest, as it was military in character, their subsequent history is that of a decadent nation. The early and unchangeable traits of Turkey resulted in efficiency as long as she was a conquering and expanding power. The seeds of evil were hardly manifest until they had grown into strong plants. Two series of facts account for the gradual weakening of Turkey. First of all, throughout her history Turkey has shown herself incapable of change. Warlike methods of conquest, the despoiling of peoples, wholesale murders for the sake of striking terror into enemies' hearts, the carelessness with which administration has been handled, are only a few of the acts which have made

the Turk hated by all the civilized world. On the other hand, the military program of forbidding the intermingling of peoples in religion, language or race, has enabled the subject peoples to maintain their bases for revolt against the conqueror. With this sharp differentiation of peoples, the Balkan groups have found no difficulty in keeping alive the spirit of revolt and in making it stronger and stronger until the time was ripe for independence.

The second series of facts cluster around the interest of the Great Powers in the Balkan Peninsula. Russia, with her overwhelming desire to reach a warm water outlet, was the first to declare her interest in the Turkish territory. England, with her great Indian empire to defend, has always been interested in Turkey. Austria has long hoped to reach the Aegean through Serbia. And last of all, Germany entered the field to exploit the Asiatic dominions of the Turk. Each of these nations in turn or together have supported rebellions against the Sultan or supported him against the intrigues of other powers. Each has used the peoples of the Balkans as pawns to secure their own, usually selfish, ends. The result has been the building up of a group of strong national states independent of one another, and as strongly antagonistic to one another as to the Turk. For the character of this growth the governments of the Great Powers of Europe, as well as the Turk himself, must be blamed.

International Relations, 19th Century.

The nineteenth century has made one point in international relations fairly clear. The moral sense of peoples, if not altogether of nations, will no longer condone the seizure of territories of a well organized and well administered state, if such seizure is made merely for purposes of aggrandizement. Gradually the unorganized portions of the world's territory have been seized. Little by little these seizures have narrowed the question of expansion. African territory has long been at a premium and has been so definitely held or controlled as to offer little opportunity for seizure or for quarrel. More and more, therefore, as this has come to be true, the attention of all the Powers has centered upon Turkey in Europe and in Asia.

Characteristics of the Turk.

Here in the Near East, then, has been a problem of control that has baffled statesmen of all the Great Powers since the opening of the century. The Turk in Europe has some characteristics of the North African princes. He has been unable to organize an efficient government, or to maintain a system of administration which was either effective or satisfactory. Throughout the century, therefore, the civilized nations of Europe have stood

about like vultures waiting for the death of the Turk. Moreover, his supineness and helplessness have so often been taken for death that one or another has from time to time either attempted to seize a portion of his supposed carcass or has actually done so and has taken care of it before the other hungry waiting ones could interfere.

What the Eastern Question Was.

In a sense, this figure is the statement of the Near Eastern question, for it is just as simple as that. In another and more vital sense, however, this figure does not give the idea of the question. It is perfectly true that had Turkey been as ably administered as was Belgium there would have been no Near Eastern question, for the moral sense of the nations would not have permitted interference. It is also perfectly true that were these territories to add simply acres to the Power receiving them, the question would early have been robbed of its great significance. But one must remember that the Near East is far more important to Russia, Germany and Austria than any African territory can possibly be to any of the Powers controlling them, save perhaps Egypt to England. Not only is Constantinople a great commercial center, but the Dardanelles seem absolutely necessary to Russia if she is to guard and control her own commercial relations. The recent war made clear how seriously Russia is crippled by the closing of the Straits to her commerce. The same is also true of Austria; her attempts upon the Adriatic have gone far to make Italy jealous of any settlement of the great war which does not leave her in control of the sea upon her eastern coast.

The Near Eastern question is, therefore, from the point of view of the Great Powers, an economic one. It is not only a question of securing control of territory that will enable the nation which secures it to strengthen the economic situation of the national state; but for two of the states it is a question of securing a warm water outlet for the commerce of the state itself. In the case of Russia, it should be added that the Slavic elements of the Balkan peninsula and the Greek Catholic religion make a strong appeal. But Russia could afford to ignore both these appeals. She cannot however, ignore the appeal of the economic factor.

It is, therefore, not too much to say that the recent war found a great deal of its vital cause in this peninsula, that in this region the events of recent years have had a significance which to the American casual reader has never appeared. The paralysis of the sick man of Europe has forced into action those Powers which are vitally affected by the settlements made, even though those settlements may be made in the interests of the peoples of the peninsula themselves.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Gibbons, The New Map of Europe, pp. 131-219, 263-367.
Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. II, Chapter XXVI.
Hazen, Europe Since 1815, pp. 601-604.
Hazen, Modern European History, Chapter XXXIII.
Robinson and Beard, Development of Modern Europe, Vol. II, pp. 303-317.
Seignobos, Contemporary Civilization, pp. 307-334.

Topics for Special Study

1. The Geography of the Turkish Empire.
2. The Greek War for Independence.
3. Russia's Wars to Reach the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE NEAR EAST

Importance of Turkish Question.

THERE is no great Power in Europe that has not found a vital interest in the territories of Turkey since that country began its decline. Since Napoleon began his conquest of Egypt and dreamed of the conquest of Europe by an eastern attack, the Balkan roadway to the East has remained a great diplomatic problem. Why has Turkey been so important a consideration in European politics and why have the Great Powers been unable to find a solution of the problem? For one reason, no method of treatment for this people has ever been discovered except that of driving them from Europe. They have set their faces like flint against improvement and have refused to be reformed or to be assimilated. In the second place, there has never been a time when the nations of Europe could agree upon a method of extinction or upon using force to carry out reforms.

Great Britain's Interest in Turkey.

What, then, are the European interests which have made the settlement of this question impossible in the past? To answer this question it will be necessary briefly to survey the interests of each of the Great Powers in turn. The earliest Power interested was, naturally, Great Britain. India, with its great wealth, with its difficulties of administration and control, has been a serious problem to the British Empire. When the Turk seized Western Asia and European Turkey and organized it into an Empire, he quickly reopened the commercial highways to the East. Thus Eastern commerce again became an important asset to Europe. By her great commercial growth and her dominance of the seas, Great Britain inherited this desire for eastern wealth. The conquest of India and organization of an Indian Empire gave wings to this desire and India became for Great Britain an important asset, where from the first she was safe because of her control of the seas. When commerce was reopened through the Near Eastern highways, Great Britain was still able to control it by her ownership of the source of wealth and by her Mediterranean shipping. Later when the Suez Canal was opened by Frenchmen, in the interests of commerce and to guard her

wealth more effectively, Great Britain purchased a majority of the stock in the canal and began developing her commercial interests in Egypt. As other nations have become interested in the commercial possibilities of the Turkish Empire, Great Britain has become fearful lest her approaches to India be cut off and the great Eastern Empire be jeopardized. Napoleon filled Great Britain with a fear which she has never overcome that some Great Power may gain control of the approaches to India and wrest from her this rich possession. Thus it has happened that Great Britain has been the most persistent enemy of every other power that has developed ambitions in South Eastern Europe and has winked at maladministration in Turkey because she could find no solution of the problem of safely reorganizing these domains, if the Turk were turned back into Asia. Great Britain's part in the Near East has been that of defending interests already secured rather than of developing new interests.

French Interest in the Turkish Question.

In this particular, Great Britain has differed from all the other Great Powers. The position of France might be mentioned here, for until England secured the Suez Canal shares, France was her most persistent opponent in the Near East. After Napoleon's time the main purpose of France was to develop commerce, although Napoleon III, in trying to secure the independence of Egypt from Turkey, was probably dreaming of the time when through the control of Egypt he might become a rival of England in the East. With the fall of Napoleon and England's purchase of the canal, the fear of France has disappeared, and although France has continued her commercial interests in Asia Minor, she and England have ceased to be rivals.

The Attitude of Russia toward Turkey.

Russia is the Power which first created the Near Eastern Question and, until the last twenty-five years, the state which has most persistently kept the question before European statesmen. It will, therefore, be worth while to trace briefly the movements of Russia in the Near East until 1878 when the problem was taken definitely from her and became a question for the consideration of the great European Powers. Russian expansion in the Near East has been very largely a question of the nineteenth century. Certainly, until the time of Napoleon, no statesman of Europe had seen the dangers arising from the dissolution of Turkey or had recognized the advantages that would accrue to certain of the European states from the control of all or a part of this peninsula. "The Younger Pitt was the first English statesman to appreciate the real and intimate concern of Great Britain in the affairs of

the Near East, and to perceive that those interests might be jeopardized by the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and the access of Russia to Constantinople."[1]

The silence of the Congress of Vienna upon the question of the Near East was due, not to the ignorance of its members concerning the need of some settlement, but to the fact that the Powers were unable to concede to Russia all that she must necessarily demand, and that therefore the opening of the question would only endanger their attempts to settle the rest of Europe and secure peace.[2] In this later period since 1815, there are five important events or points about which Russia's relations to the Near East question center. These events are: the Greek war of independence, 1821-1827; the Crimean war and its settlement of 1856; the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, with the settlement of 1878; the seizure of Bosnia-Herzogovina in 1908 by Austria; and the Balkan wars of 1912 with their settlement.

Aside from the causes for the war of Greek independence as seen in the misgovernment and cruelty of Turkey, and the growth of the nationalistic movement, which was showing itself throughout Europe, Russia must bear the responsibility of inciting the war for her own ends. The Czar, Nicholas I (1825-1855), was quite in sympathy with the conservatism of Metternich, but he was not slow to see the advantages to Russia which the first definite beginnings of a declining and receding Turkish Empire would give. Such a movement might, in causing Russia to interfere, give her a chance to push forward her frontiers to the Black Sea.

In this she was right. England and France joined with Russia to save the Turk and curb him, but they were able to stop his cruelties only by the destruction of his fleet, which took place at the battle of Navarino, October 20, 1827. This act practically broke up the alliance of the three Powers. England withdrew, Russia declared war on the Turk, and while France defended Greece in Morea, Russia rapidly conquered the provinces north of the Danube and reached Adrianople, which fell before her assault. Turkey was forced to accept the peace of Adrianople, on September 14, 1829, which gave Russia very large powers of interference in Turkey and forced Turkey to recognize the autonomous character or semi-independence of a considerable portion of her European territory; while Russia gained control of the lands at the mouth of the

[1] Marriott, The Eastern Question, p. 144.
[2] Compare Part 2, Chap. 1.

Danube and was assured a protective voice in the treatment of the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire. Besides this, she made considerable progress in expansion by securing a title to Georgia, lying east of the Black Sea, and to practically all the Caucasus region.

The treaty of Adrianople gave Russia a very great impetus in her efforts to go southward. First of all, she received great commercial advantages in the neutralization of the Black Sea and in her possessions upon it. She became the guardian of the Roumanian provinces, which must play into her hands at all times to be secure against Turkey and she had definitely established the idea of a decadent Turkey which would enable her to proceed more rapidly in her work.

The importance of the treaty of Adrianople was seen, when as an aftermath to the Greek war came the attempt of the Pasha of Egypt to secure his practical independence of Turkey. As a result of this fiasco, Russia was able to force Turkey to accept a new treaty (Unkiar Skelesi) in 1833 by which Turkey agreed in a secret article to aid Russia, when aid was asked, by closing the Dardanelles to the war ships of any other Power than Russia. In return, Russia agreed to defend Turkey against her enemies with the whole Russian army and navy. This treaty, which practically made Turkey a military dependency of Russia, marks the zenith of Russia's success in the Near East. This success was, however, nullified in part by the treaty of London in which Russia chose to participate with the European Powers against her own interests because of her hatred of Louis Phillippe. This treaty, which was forced upon the Turks of Egypt, recognized the dependency of the Caliph upon the Sultan, guaranteed the integrity of Turkey, and closed the Dardanelles to the ships of war of all countries.

In the Treaty of London, England was able to secure an acceptance of Canning's policy that "Russia must not be permitted to regard those affairs as her own exclusive concern."[3] From the time of the Treaty of London in 1840, the Near East question becomes a great European problem in which Russia is not the less interested, but in which the rest of Europe formally announced their determination to participate with her. This announcement bore fruit in 1854 when Russia prepared to renew her effort to reach Constantinople. It should be said that previously (1853) the Czar, Nicholas I, had tried

[3] Marriott, The Eastern Question, p. 219.

to come to terms with England regarding the European lands of the "sick man."[4] He was very frank, stating that he did not intend permanently to occupy Constantinople, protesting against allowing a group of small states to be formed, and urging the neutralization of the Straits. England refused to discuss the obsequies before the death of the patient, especially without consultation with Austria and France, and Russia soon sent a special commissioner to the Porte, asking for guarantees that the Holy Places in Palestine would be respected and for the recognition of Russia's right of protectorate over the Christians in Turkey.

The allies attempted to avert war, but their efforts failed and their bungled diplomacy actually forced war in which England, France and the Porte united against Russia. Austria remained outside, a sympathizer with the allies against Russia, because of her own fear of Russia's progress. To justify the war is a difficult matter. From almost every point of view England, who felt more concern than any other Power, might have secured more easily by other methods all that she gained by this war. Yet the question remains as to whether Russia would not have made herself the sole arbiter of southeast Europe had not the war been fought.[5]

After two years of struggle, the contestants, with Austria and Prussia, met in Paris to draw up the terms of peace. In this peace, Russia received a definite repulse in southeastern Europe. The treaty provided for European recognition of Turkey in the Concert of Powers, made the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte an international affair, neutralized the Black Sea, prohibited Russia from keeping any war vessels in it, and took from her the sole right to guard the interests of the Roumanian provinces. In addition to the Treaty of Paris, England, France and Austria jointly and severally agreed to make any infraction of the article a cause for war. The treaty gave a new lease of life to Turkey and forced the question of the Porte into the foreground, thus taking from Russia the opportunity to further her own ends under cover of other, seemingly plausible, designs. The Treaty of Paris remained in effect until 1870. During this year, Russia, with the support of Bismarck, sent a note to the Powers definitely repudiating the Black Sea clause of the treaty. Since

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[4] The Czar of Russia coined the phrase "The Sick Man", in a communication to the English government.

[5] Cf. the discussion in Marriott, The Eastern Question, pp. 236-7.

none of the Powers were in a position effectively to question the matter, Russia was able to secure possession of the Black Sea.[6]

During the period from 1856 to 1876, Turkey failed miserably in her government of her European provinces, just when the national instincts of the people were making themselves felt. As a result there arose revolts and rebellions throughout Turkey. The Powers were forced to recognize the situation, and Russia, Austria, and Prussia drew up a demand for reform, then asked England to join in the presentation of the note. England refused, and the Turkish massacres continued until, late in 1876, a conference of the Powers agreed to and presented a demand for reform upon the Porte. The refusal of this demand and of a less drastic one presented later, made Russia declare war in 1877 on her own account. In this war, she was, after meeting some serious obstacles, entirely successful, and presented her terms of peace at San Stefano in March, 1878. This treaty gave Russia still more of Asiatic Turkey and in Europe allowed her a strip of territory lying near Roumania, which she was empowered forcibly to exchange with the latter state for Bessarabia, given up in 1856. In addition, Bulgaria was created, extending to the Aegean Sea, and was placed under the protectorate of Russia.

This last event brought about the interference of the allied Powers, and a conference was held in Berlin in 1878 which reconstructed the treaty. By this conference, Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro were made independent, while Bulgaria lost the southern part of the territory mapped out at the Treaty of San Stefano (which left her about one half of the original territory), and was given only local autonomy. Again, Russia was deprived of her chance to secure a definite point of vantage in the Balkans. Her participation in the establishment of Bulgaria was soon forgotten by that state, and Russia's only satisfaction was the knowledge that she had practically annihilated the Turkish empire in Europe.

There is a curious and interesting account of this struggle, which is in part quoted below, to show what was then the prevailing opinion of Russia's action throughout the course of the struggle.

"No one can doubt that the invasion of the Ottoman Empire was the deliberate act and intention of Russia, that no other state desired it, and that but for her it would not have taken place. It was, therefore, on her part a direct and unprovoked violation and defiance of the most solemn treaty engagements existing in Europe—

[6] On England's demand, a new London conference was held, and Russia accepted an agreement setting forth in general terms that the consent of all the Powers was necessary to the abrogation of a treaty.

treaties made, not with Turkey or for Turkey alone, but with all the Great Powers. No treaties could be more binding than those of 1856. Even the neutral states participated in them; and when they were partially repudiated by Russia in 1871, the principal clauses were reënacted, with her concurrence, under Mr. Gladstone's administration, with the addition of a strangely worded declaration 'that it is an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, or modify the stipulations therof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement.' The Treaty of Paris, indeed, contrasts singularly with the terms now exacted from the Ottoman Empire, for Russia was not asked for a farthing of war expenses or any considerable cession of territory. The insolent violation of these solemn engagements and the open breach of the European concert in Eastern affairs which they were designed to establish, afford, therefore, a painful but effectual demonstration that no reliance can now be placed on such instruments and that they are broken with impunity."[7]

Here is to be detected the century-old hostility of Russia and Great Britain. Had Russia wished only for a warm water port, England might have had no fear, but Russian ambition was too patent and if she once secured control of the Eastern Mediterranean it would not be long until she would attempt to cut off English commerce with the East and open the contest for the control of India.

The Situation in the Balkans since 1878.

This brief survey, perhaps, will have made it clear why Turkey and the Balkan peninsula have never been allowed to live their own lives and why no solution of the Turkish question has ever been found. In the main, the Congress of Berlin in 1878 may be taken as the date which partly settled the problem for the earlier contestants and opened it the more seriously for those problems which have led directly to the world conflict in 1914. Thus, by 1878, all the Balkan states had been created and, with the exception of Bulgaria, had been given fairly their normal boundaries. The problems arising in the creation of these states were comparatively easy of settlement, for, since they were made at a date too early for the play of the full activities of either Austria or Germany, these earlier crises did not have the serious significance of those which have appeared since 1878.

In this earlier period, the more important events gather about the independence of Greece, 1831-1832, the Crimean war, 1854-1856,

[7] Edinburgh Review for 1878, Vol. 147, pp. 564-5.

and the Treaty of San Stefano, 1877, which led to the settlement of the Congress of Berlin in the next year.

Turkish rule in Europe fostered the growth of nationality among the Balkan peoples, for religion and national customs were left to influence the people as they might. It was, therefore, natural that this spirit should have received an impetus from the French Revolution and the settlement at Vienna in 1815. It was also natural that, within a generation after that settlement, the problem of nationality in the Balkans should produce anxiety among European diplomats. The Greek revolt against Turkish rule not only awakened the Russian dreams of Peter but was received in a frankly sympathetic spirit by the Russian people. Moreover, Europe, generally, was sympathetic. The Greeks had been a great people with a glorious past and they were oppressed by a ruler whose government was entirely foreign to European soil. The Greeks waged a courageous war and in 1827 the Great Powers met in London and demanded an armistice of the Sultan and a peaceful settlement of the question, recognizing the national aspiration of the Greeks. The demand was not complied with and Russia, in spite of the withdrawal of Great Britain, decided to force the independence of Greece. After a brief war the peace of Adrianople was signed in 1829, by which Turkey recognized Greek independence and gave to the Serbians local autonomy. In 1832, the organization of the new state was finally effected through an international conference held in London in 1830-1831. This conference fixed the boundaries of Greece and settled the form of government by suggesting Prince Otto of Bavaria as King with a responsible government.

Influence of Turkish Rule upon Nationality.

Thus the first great difficulty was overcome, without seriously compromising the position of any of the interested Powers. Russia had secured a possible influence in the outlying Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, now Roumania, and had secured some territory in the Caucasus region in Asia. On the other hand, the war had materially strengthened Russia's influence in the Balkans because the peoples clearly recognized that Greek independence had been largely due to her initiative and persistence. It had also fired Russian ambition to go forward with her designs to force her way to a warm water port.

The Crimean war was rather the result of Russian intrigue than, like the Greek war, of the national ambition of Balkan peoples or the misrule of the Turks. An occasion of war was found in a dispute over the Holy Places in Palestine. The Czar claimed the right

as head of the Greek Orthodox church, to protect the Greek Orthodox peoples of Turkey. A dispute between the Greek and Roman churches in Palestine giving the Czar a chance to interfere, he demanded the recognition of his right to supervise the Greek Christians throughout the Turkish Empire. Refusal led to the Crimean war, in which both Great Britain and France sided with the Turk because Russia refused to allow the European conference to settle the matter. As a result of the war, Russia was forced to give up her claim to the right of interference in the religious affairs of Turkey and to recognize the entire neutrality of the Black Sea. The Danube was at the same time neutralized and local autonomy was given to Moldavia and Wallachia which later became Roumania. No step was taken toward the solution of the Near East except that Russia was forced to recognize the authority of the European Concert to settle Turkish affairs instead of assuming that position for herself.

The Crimean War.

The next crisis, which came in 1877, was again the result of Turkish atrocities and the national aspirations of the Bulgarian peoples. Russia refused to wait for the Powers, who did nothing but talk. War was declared and after a brief conflict the Turk was again forced to sue for peace, which was signed at San Stefano. This Treaty the Powers refused to recognize and Russia was forced to carry the matter to the Congress of Berlin for settlement. We have already noticed this settlement [8] which created Bulgaria and brought Austria-Hungary directly into the Near East by giving her the administration of Bosnia-Herzogovina.

The Crisis of 1877.

The Congress of Berlin, as has been said, closes an epoch of the Eastern Question. It affected the union of all Europe against Russia and taught her the impossibility of destroying the Turk by direct attack. The Congress opens the new epoch also of the Eastern Question because it definitely led the ambitions of Austria toward the southeast by the gift of the Turkish provinces and the opening of the Danube to her commerce. The Congress also first attracted the attention of Germany both on Austria's account and for herself.

Effect of Congress of Berlin on Eastern Question.

Here, then, is the opening of the Pan-Slavic, Pan-Germanic question. To both Russia and Austria the question was a vital one, for to each the success of the other meant the ruin of age-long plans and dreams. For a time, however, the question rested. Russia turned her attention eastward, as Bismarck hoped she would, and

[8] See Chapter 3 of Part II.

Russian-English hostility shifted to Afghanistan and Persian centers where Great Britain was again made anxious about her Indian Empire. In the period since 1878, Russia has stood upon the defensive in the Near East. Having failed to accomplish the ruin of the Turk and her own success by active interference, she has been content to watch the "sick man" to see that his territories were not dissipated and put into the hands of her enemies. Her active policy has fallen to Austria and especially to Germany. Circumstances had changed the problem and had made the old direct methods of Russia no longer possible.

In the first place, Germany was primarily interested in Mesopotamia and not the Dardanelles. For her, the problem was to retain the Turk in Constantinople and to develop such relations with him as would enable her to keep secure this cross-road into Asia. Germany was, therefore, interested in strengthening Turkey. Moreover, Germany's interest in the Balkans was primarily one which would enable her to keep the road open into Asia. The Balkan national aims received little respect from her because the working out of Balkan national aspirations would mean weakening her line of communication. This purpose of Berlin demanded a strong support of Austria in her Balkan designs, for the growth of Austrian power meant the guarding of German interests against the Pan-Slav movement, which looked to Russia for leadership and inspiration.

Attitude of Germany toward Balkan National Aims.

The Near Eastern problem, therefore, since 1878, has been concerned more than it was formerly with political and diplomatic intrigue. These intrigues which have centered about the central Powers, Austria and Germany, instead of Russia, are so important in the affairs of the Balkan peninsula that they must be reserved for another chapter.

In quite another sense, the Congress of Berlin of 1878 is a turning point in Balkan history. As has been said, this Congress established Bulgaria as the last of the Balkan states but took from her the whole of Macedonia. After 1878, there grew rapidly the sense of unity and importance among the Balkan peoples. Their nationalism and the strong consciousness of past wrongs received at the hands of Turkey made them sympathetic toward the peoples still under the control of the Turk.

There grew also impatience with Europe because of her tardy action in Balkan matters and something like contempt for the expressed humanity which so often spent itself in words. Later, this grew into a definite conviction that the Balkan Powers must take the initiative

into their own hands if they were ever to stop the massacres of fellow Christians or to unite southeastern Europe in an effort to drive the Turk from Europe.

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Topics for Special Study

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   Hayes, History of Modern Europe II, 586 ff.
2. The Settlement of the Persian Question.
3. The Empire of India,
   Hayes, History of Modern Europe II, 662 ff.
4. The Congress of Berlin,
   Hayes, History of Modern Europe II, 503 ff.

CHAPTER III

CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE NEAR EAST

The Effect on Germany and Austria of the Treaty of Berlin.

SINCE the Congress of Berlin in 1878, when the Great Powers of Europe agreed to guard the Balkan peninsula against the encroachment of Russia, there has been no outside danger except that from Germany and Austria. Bismarck was quite clear in his mind that Russia could not again become a menace in that region unless she definitely decided to attack first Austria and Germany in Europe. Thus from 1878 to the time of his fall he maintained his friendly relations with Russia by a treaty that kept her from an alliance with France and from this hostility to central Europe.

Unfortunately, the Congress of Berlin, which attempted among other things to establish the principle that no one nation should interfere in the Balkan peninsula without the joint action of the others, failed wholly to solve the problem of the "Unspeakable Turk". The Turk himself quickly grasped the idea that the impossibility of securing agreement among the Powers as to what should be done gave him practically a free hand to despoil the Christian populations as he pleased. The Balkan peoples also quickly learned that what must be everybody's business was really nobody's business and that they must protect themselves or be exploited at the will of their master, the Turk.

Bismarck's Idea of the Strength of the German Empire.

But the settlement of 1878 at Berlin did not interfere in the plans of Germany with respect to the peninsula and the Near East. Within a few years of the date of the treaty, German merchants had found their way to Constantinople, German scientists had explored Mesopotamia and German soldiers had begun to advise the Turkish authorities regarding the remaking of their army. Bismarck held clearly to the idea that the greatness of the German Empire, however large her Colonial possessions, must always be based upon her strength and position in Europe, a position which became practically unassailable after 1882 when the Triple Alliance was finally completed. Even to Bismarck, however, it was clear that this great European Empire which he was creating must develop a region which could be exploited or developed for the benefit of Germany. This region he hoped might be Turkey, especially Asiatic Turkey, but he had played too great a part in the

settlement of the Balkan affairs to imagine that such a development could ever be made except through the private interests and private capital of the German people.

Bismarck's opponents knew less and thought differently about the matter and, therefore, as soon as Bismarck retired from office in 1890 the policy of the government changed. Pan-Germanism then quickly meant the strong alliance of Central Europe and the development of the Asiatic possessions of Turkey for the sake of Germany. To this end, the Emperor William II made a notable visit to Jerusalem where he acclaimed himself to the Mohammedans as their friend and protector; while in Constantinople, upon his return, he took up the more definite business of furthering the interests of German merchants. On a second visit he completed arrangements for the concession of a railway undertaking from Constantinople to the Gulf of Persia, now usually known as the Bagdad Railway. This concession from Turkey to a group of German capitalists centered in a German Railway Company that was already organized in Turkey as the Anatolian Railway Company. This Company was enlarged and included the president of the Bank of Berlin, "Deutsche Bank", as the president of the enlarged company. The concession was granted in 1902, the year in which Edward VII of England came to the throne. Already the first symptoms of the German naval policy had been recognized, and England, France and Russia received the announcement of the Bagdad Railway concession as practical defiance on the part of Germany to the rest of the European Powers. Germany, however, did her best to show that the grant, which was very favorable, was only a commercial venture and had no political significance. To this end, the German company offered to make the corporation an international one and to admit capital from both England and France so long as the original company retained control of the management and the direction.

Pan-Germanism.

The Bagdad Railway.

This offer the English government eventually refused although Mr. Balfour was prepared to take the Germans' word as to the character of the company and to encourage British private capital to invest in the undertaking. France, on the other hand, refused the sanction of the government and forbade the French Bourse or stock exchange to quote the stocks of the new company.[1] Having taken this stand, the French Parliament went on to give permission to private capitalists to invest in the undertaking if they chose to do so. The principal reason for this concession was that Frenchmen already

[1] The French stock exchange quotes only stocks of certain value; hence the refusal to quote the Bagdad railway stock seemed to make its value questionable.

had large investments in railways in Asia Minor and Syria, which railways must either coöperate with the new through railroad or become more or less useless, in which case a large part of the capital invested would be lost. Because of this situation the French entered into the scheme, securing a minor part in the control of the road.

England was much incensed at the action of Germany, believing that the railroad was not intended, as it was stated, to develop Asia Minor as much as it was to strike at her own control of India. Here commercial and political interests were closely bound together. A railway from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf might easily destroy Great Britain's commercial control of India, but it would also furnish a direct, short and well defended military highway for an attack upon India. This last possibility seemed to the English government to be strengthened by the grant which required the company to provide certain military stations on the line, and a provision that the Turkish government was to secure and use the railway in case of military need.

Importance of a Railway System for Asia Minor.

It is worth while at this point to call attention to the fact that it has long ago been recognized that the regeneration of Asia Minor depends absolutely upon the development of a system, or a series of systems, of railways. Early in the century the English had called attention to this need and the possibility of its fulfilment and they only laid aside the idea when their possession of the Suez Canal seemed to secure their connections with the East. But the English merchants continued to dream of and plan this regeneration and to suggest plans for railway extension in Mesopotamia. The Turkish government itself has always been so financially impotent as well as careless of the interests of its people, as to be unable to encourage railway extension on a scale proportionate to the needs of Asia Minor. In the main, the Germans have only followed in the footsteps of England in Turkey. They neither discovered the economic possibilities of railway extension into Asia Minor and the Persian Gulf nor the political significance of such an extension. The English discovery had engendered no fear or rivalry. England was the first in the field and had no commercial rivals when she began investigations in this region. Moreover, there were no political rivals so early. Russia had not begun her expansion into Persia, and she gave no thought to the English work. The French had no possessions in the East to justify opposition or fear, and Germany had not as yet dreamed of the commercial significance or political possibilities of the Turkish Empire.

Germany's arrival in the peninsula put a very different construction both upon the economic and the political aspect of affairs. First

of all, from the French viewpoint, the proposed German plans endangered the economic interests of France in Syria and Asia Minor, to say nothing of her political interests which were assuming some importance. To Russia there was also considerable danger in both economic and political aspects. There is no reason for supposing that Russia had given up all further attempts to push her way southward, even after she came to an understanding with England in 1907; and, of course, before that date her desires were clear and were followed up with keen interest. But from an economic viewpoint the proposed railway might be a great aid to Russia in assisting her in the development of these new Asiatic countries which she wished to secure and exploit. So, in 1911, Russia and Germany partly settled their difficulty when the two Emperors met at Potsdam, and Germany agreed to connect her mainline with the railway systems of Persia which Russia agreed to build, Germany also promising to recognize the right of Russia to develop and exploit Persia without Germany's interference.

Effect of Scheme upon the Powers.

With England, however, the matter was much more serious. First of all from an economic viewpoint, the Bagdad Railway seriously menaced English economic supremacy in India. This line direct from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf and India would not only shorten the distance to India materially but would open European markets directly to her resources. It would thus seriously endanger the control of English economic interests in India and the entire East, and those interests could not look on complacently while such a scheme was being carried out. But this was not the most serious matter from the British viewpoint. English political control of India was the one thing which appealed to English pride and British imperial interests more than almost any other achievement in her vast domains. In many ways, economic and political, India seemed to be of the supremest importance to the continuance of the British Empire. British interests, always suspicious of any foreign intrigues in the Turkish capital, for years had been Russia's most indomitable enemy because of their fear that Russia's control of Constantinople would endanger the security of India. It was, therefore, but natural that Great Britain should be suspicious of German political intrigues in the Turkish capital and doubly so when those intrigues had ended in the concessions for a railway to the Persian Gulf. Why, England inquired, was a railway to the Gulf of Persia necessary for the development of Turkish Asia Minor? Was it not conceived of as a political project rather than an economic one and was it not certainly an attack, economic and political, on India rather than an attempt to

Effects on England.

develop Asia Minor? This attitude had been developed in the European plans of the German government. Already, the plan for a great navy, the German attitude toward the Boer war and the growing imperial sentiment in Germany, had given strong ground for British suspicion of Germany's motives and it was natural that this new venture, whatever its intent, should have made Great Britain suspicious and should have immediately put her on the defense.

Measures of Defense.

This defense took first the turn of securing possession of the gulf end of the proposed right of way. The little principality of Koweit on the Gulf of Persia had always been semi-independent of Turkey, and had long been under the economic control of England. It was not difficult therefore for England to negotiate a treaty with the prince which recognized the continued English economic control of the country in return for British protection of the prince against Turkey. Thus, when the German surveying party reached Bagdad, they found their way blocked. An appeal to the Turkish government did no good; when Turkey tried to coerce the prince, British warships and British marines made their efforts of no avail. The matter was then ready for negotiation and the negotiations continued down to the war without any final settlement. For a time the project proceeded slowly in Germany. British suspicions that had been aroused needed time to quiet down and Germany was in no position following 1902, when the concession was given, to bring on a crisis. The first section of the railway from Konia to Bulgurli in the central portion of the peninsula, was the most easily constructed and was the part which could most easily be claimed as necessary to the economic development of the peninsula. This section was completed in 1904. From the latter point, the construction would be more difficult, as it would involve the French interests from the south which it would directly meet at Aleppo, the end of the French line from Beirut and Damascus.

In 1908, the year of the Young Turk revolution, it was finally agreed that the company might issue bonds to cover the construction not only through the mountain sections, but also through the first section of the Mesopotamian plain; and work was begun as soon as the German government succeeded in reëstablishing her relations with the revolutionary government. The work went slowly, however. In 1910, French commercial interests decided to participate in the venture to save their southern interests, and a reconstruction of the company took place which gave the French eight out of twenty-six directors. In 1911, the Potsdam agreement quieted Russian antagonism, so that the project could be urged much faster.

In the meantime negotiations with Great Britain continued. In 1910, France joined with England in an attempt to establish an international control by allowing financiers of the two countries to enter the company and to reorganize it so as to give the British the control of the road from Bagdad to the Gulf. Germany refusing this, the negotiations fell through. Great Britain, who felt easier with the Bagdad end of the railroad in her hands, began to treat with Russia in order to separate German-Russian interests. Her success in this direction which ended in the establishment of the Triple Entente, made her feel still safer and prepared the government for further negotiations with Germany, which continued down to 1914 and were only stopped by the war. It was reported that the two governments had reached an agreement as to the British control of the Persian Gulf section of the railway and were negotiating on other matters pertaining to the project, when the war began. The railway had gone on slowly and in 1914 there was still a considerable part of the road to build, although the most difficult portions were completed, and it would appear, if the reports of British-German agreements were correct, that eventually the road might have been completed and the economic regeneration of the great Tigris-Euphrates valleys begun. It is certainly to be hoped that the settlement of the Peace Congress will succeed in arranging the affairs of this part of Turkey so that the railway may be completed for the sake of the peoples of Armenia and Mesopotamia, Persia and all the countries of southern Asia.[2]

The Triple Entente.

"Such is the story of the Bagdad Railway which contributed more than any other complication to create the condition needed for the conflict. From the historical point of view, there are thus two aspects to the Bagdad Railway. It represents, on the one hand, the last act in the process of reopening the direct way to the East which became closed to the West by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, and which began to be reopened with the loosening of Turkey's hold on one end of the historic highway stretching across Asia Minor. On the other hand, the conflict to which the railway gave rise illustrates once more the crucial rôle that this highway has always played in determining the fate of the Near East from the most ancient days down to our own times. The opposition of the European powers to the Bagdad Railway, used as a political scheme for the aggrandizement of a particular country, registers the instinctive protest of the West against the domination of

The Importance of the Bagdad Railway.

[2] Whether England's mandate for Mesopotamia will effect this desired end still remains to be seen even now in July, 1921.

the East *by any one power*—no matter which. The danger would have been just as great and the hostility aroused just as strong if Russia had at any time seized Constantinople and threatened the East by an advance into Asia Minor, whether with an army or by means of a railway. The fatal error of Germany was to conceive of such a domination, for, with the reopening of the Near East to the West, the logical plan, the one dictated by the verdict of history, was to keep the world's highway open for the *entire* West—and for the East. The Bagdad Railway in the hands of Germany, stretching from Constantinople *via* Bagdad to the Persian Gulf, would have meant the practical closing of the highway to all other nations—as effectively as the taking of Constantinople accomplished this in 1453.

"The history of Turkey and Asia Minor gives the verdict that the highway *must be kept open*—if the world is to progress peaceably and if the nations of the West are to live in amicable rivalry, while once more passing through the period of an exchange between Orient and Occident—such as first took place in the days of Alexander the Great. This verdict suggests 'internationalization' of the highway as the solution, and it also voices a warning to the West that the reopening of the highway must not be used for domination over the East but for coöperation with it, not for exploiting the East, but for a union with it. What form that union should take will become clearer after a consideration of the two issues involved in the war."[3]

[3] Jastrow, The War and the Bagdad Railway, p. 120 ff.

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CHAPTER IV

THE YOUNG TURK RÉGIME

Importance of Year 1908.

THE year 1908 was a critical period in the weaving of the web of European war. The events of the preceding years had, one by one, seemed to concentrate all European diplomatic action in southeastern Europe. The Russian war with Japan in 1904, ending all attempts to secure an outlet to the Far East, had left Russia face to face with but this one chance for the commercial freedom so necessary for the development of southern Russia, which had already become the bread center of the world.

The serious check to German expansion in Africa by the hostility of France and Germany's failure to loosen the English-French alliance, likewise concentrated her attention here. She had still another reason for becoming anxious over the Turkish situation. The enmity of England and Russia in the Near East had very early transferred itself to Asia. In Afghanistan it had brought the nations to the verge of war. At the opening of the twentieth century it found in Persia another field for its activities. While a Congress was working over the settlement of the Algeciras affair, [1] England and Russia were coming to an agreement in Persia. This agreement, made in August 1907, was the basis of the understanding with Russia which brought together the three nations, rivals of the Triple Alliance. Germany could find no reason for interfering in Persia, and was forced to content herself with the accord of Potsdam by which Russia recognized the economic interests of Germany in Persia and the surrounding Turkish territory, while Germany admitted that she had no political interests in the region and acknowledged Russia's supreme interests there.

Let us, then, survey again the hopes and desires of the nations in order to see more closely the drawing of the net of war.

The Nationalities of Austrian Empire.

The Austrian Empire was based upon two nationalities, German and Hungarian. Both of these nations were weaker in numbers than was the Slavic population. Their success as rulers was dependent upon their ability to keep the Slavic population so divided geographically and so dependent as to thwart all national aspirations. The realization of this

[1] The Algeciras affair was a quarrel between Germany and France over the extent of French control in Morocco. An European Congress was called to decide the quarrel.

plan depended a great deal also upon Austria's ability to hold in check the national Slavic development to the south; hence, her seizure of Bosnia-Herzogovina may be viewed as due to her desire to check the aspirations of Servia as a rallying center for Slavic nationality in southern Europe.

A cursory glance at the map will also show that the only commercial port of any significance which Austria held upon the Adriatic, was Trieste, with a population almost wholly Italian. Should Servia reach the Adriatic she might become a serious menace to Austrian commerce, which on the way to its own port passes through a considerable stretch of Slavic territory. This territory, in the event of Servia becoming strong, would naturally drift toward Servia. The like was true of Hungary. Here, Fiume is Slavic,[2] and here again a strong Slavic border lies between the Hungarian population and territory and their only commercial port to the southeast. The growth of a national Slavic state to the south, or the growth of the Slavic national interests within the empire, would spell economic disaster to national Hungary as well as to national Austria.

Purpose of Seizure of Bosnia-Herzogovina.

Austria's seizure of Bosnia-Herzogovina was intended to make impossible the growth of a greater Servia, while she felt sure that she would be able to thwart the national interests of the Slavs at home. The seizure of the Slavic territories to the south did more than aid in accomplishing Austria's ambition to destroy the hope of a southern Slavic state; it was directly in line with her avowed object of reaching an Aegean port at Salonica.

Germany and her Turkish Program.

Germany, too, in 1908, had wholly committed herself to her Turkish program. Already at this time the Triple Entente was a reality, and Great Britain and Russia had agreed upon the division of Persia and the final settlement of all their differences. Germany had lost hope of successfully blocking French progress in Morocco and realized that in Asia Minor was her only chance for Empire.

Russian Hopes.

So Russia had been driven more and more back to her hopes in the south. Her practical failure in Persia, her loss of the war with Japan and the resulting check to her ambitions, —these had been the causes. When one recalls that in the Turko-Italian war, while the Turk closed the Dardanelles for only a brief time, 200 ship loads of Russian wheat were held up in the Black Sea and mostly rotted, it is not difficult to gauge Russian desire for the control of this outlet. With the interests of England and Italy in

[2] The Slavic population is somewhat stronger than the Italian if the city as well as the port are taken into account.

this region and the close alliance of France and Russia, it can be said that in 1908 the situation in the Balkans was at a deadlock so far as the Great Powers were concerned.

The Young Turk Régime.

It was at this point that the initiation of affairs passed to the peninsula itself. The Young Turk régime was born. Constitutionalist propaganda had been going on for a long time. The scheme of government, which allowed no freedom on the part of officials, but enforced always the most abject servility to the Sultan, had driven many proud spirited Young Turks into exile and had organized the Constitutionalist party. The brilliant success of the revolution was due, however, rather to the weakness of the government, than to the strength of the conspirators. Their aims and aspirations were good. They saw Turkey, subject to all the Powers of Europe, buffeted and ill used in order that selfish interests might be satisfied. They saw her losing bit by bit her European possessions, as the Powers were in a mood to agree upon a division; they saw her losing internally in the struggle for nationality, to them the most important struggle left to wage. They wished to create and consolidate the Turkish nationality and to secure what was left of Turkish inheritance. To do this, a constitutional régime they believed to be necessary; had not such a régime secured that end in all the states of western Europe!

The immediate events which precipitated the Young Turk revolution were such as to make almost necessary some action on the part of Turkey. In the latter years of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, 1876-1909, Turkey seemed on the verge of disruption. The national debt became so alarming that France, who held most of the bonds, led the way in forming an international commission to supervise Turkish finances. The massacres of Armenians in Asia Minor grew in intensity so that during 1894-1895 more than a hundred thousand Armenians were murdered by their neighbors. Crete, opposed to Turkish misrule, rebelled and Greece began a war with Turkey to aid her kinsman. Though the war was a failure, the Concert of Powers forced Turkey to establish an autonomous government in Crete which practically destroyed Turkey's control, if not her ownership, of the island. The same misgovernment in Macedonia forced the Powers to interfere in 1903 and a scheme of reform was drawn up to be applied to Macedonia. The reforms were never carried out and Macedonia remained a center of opposition until 1908. All this the Young Turks saw and realized that if anything was to be done it must be done promptly. "Shrewdly enough the Young Turks avoided all violence until they were absolutely sure the army would support them. Then with swift-

ness and certainty they struck the blow, the *coup d'état* of 1908. On July 23, 1908, the constitution of 1876 was proclaimed at Salonica by the central body of the Young Turk, the so-called committee of Union and Progress, with Major Enver Bey at its head. Two army corps threatened to march on Constantinople if the Sultan should deny the constitution. Terrified, Abdul Hamid hastily issued an imperial decree, officially restoring the constitution of 1876. A few opponents of the revolution were assassinated, the press was emancipated, a liberal statesman, Kiamil Pasha, was appointed Grand Vizier, and Turkey was a constitutional monarchy."[3] So much for the revolution. It met practical difficulties at once. So serious did these become that, in 1909, steps were taken toward a counter revolution in behalf of the liberal party, a movement that received the support of the old sultan. In the end, an army went to Constantinople, overthrew Abdul Hamid, and put in his place Mohammed V, his younger brother. A parliamentary government was established and the power of the Young Turk was secure.

With the revolution accomplished, the Young Turk turned to the administration to carry out his ideas of nationalization. First of all, the Turk decided that the triumph of Turkish nationality must be built upon the annihilation rather than the assimilation of other races. This decision seems to have been directly responsible for the Armenian massacres of 1909 by which more than 30,000 of the most helpful and commercially significant part of the population were destroyed. It was, also, this idea that led to the attempt to nationalize Macedonia by the emigration of the Turkish population from Bosnia-Herzogovina to Macedonia, the shipping of Mohammedans from Asia into Macedonia, followed by riots and massacres which influenced Greece to lay aside her opposition to Bulgaria and to ally herself with the Balkan states.

The Young Turks held also, that the empire must be unified in religion in order to be strong. They, therefore, began an attack upon the orthodox church by demanding that it give up its special privileges and accept the guarantees of the constitution. This position was a natural one, the only difficulty being that the constitution was as yet a theory only and the rulers of the orthodox church were not ready to lay aside material advantages already secured to them for a theoretical freedom of religion and privilege. The Young Turks failed to coerce because of lack of time and because of the stubbornness and the efficient organization of the church. The Greek Catholics were

[3] Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe II; p. 525.

alienated, however, and their numbers were large enough to make their opposition a serious menace to the new Turkish state.

The Young Turks also completed the alienation of the outlying districts, Arabia and Albania. These districts were found in great disorder. For a long time they had been semi-independent, though unfortunately they had never developed an administration of their own. The revolutionary dream of a national Turkey made no appeal to these provinces so that when the Young Turks attempted to remodel and strengthen the government they aroused only rebellion which grew in intensity until the overthrow of the new régime by the Balkan wars.

Thus the dream of a national Turkey had ended in failure. The Young Turk recognized and was able to take advantage of the selfishness and failure of European diplomacy in near eastern affairs. From the point of view of its supineness he had every chance of success. His ultimate aim was worthy, the founding of a national state. His failure lay not in his ideals, but in his inability to use the right means. He was an idealist with no practical knowledge of politics or administration. This lack of practical knowledge of affairs led him into all sorts of inconsistencies and often far from his real object. We have recounted some of his attempts to recreate the empire from within, but his diplomatic failures were even more fruitful in defeating his object.

The tortuous routes of diplomacy seemed to him too long a way to travel. He was also too familiar with its methods as used by the old Turk who was a past master in the arts of diplomacy. These arts seemed to him, therefore, to be coupled with wrong. The straightforward method seemed to be more in keeping with his high purpose and to enable him to proceed more quickly. Moreover, the Young Turk believed in his aim as he believed in his religion, and, therefore, suspected as enemies all who thwarted him in any way.

He dared not attack Austria for her seizure of Bosnia, but he could refuse to trade with her. He, therefore, declared a boycott on all Austrian goods and adhered to it for a time so strictly as to win Austria's antagonism. He gave the Bulgarians infinite trouble along the Turkish borders because of their declaration of independence. He enforced a boycott on Greece because of her encouragement of the rebellion in Crete, and he gave Italy an opportunity and cause for her seizure of Tripoli. The revolution instead of saving had completed the destruction of Turkey and was the cause of the upsetting of all the plans of the allied groups of the Great Powers in the Near East.

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Topics for Special Study

1. Crete and Greece in 1908.
2. The Young Turk and Macedonia.
3. Armenia in the Revolution of 1908.

CHAPTER V

THE BALKAN WARS

Two important events grew out of the work of the Young Turk even while he was completing his revolution. One of these was the seizure of Tripoli and Cyrenaica by Italy. For a long time Italy had been working towards the economic conquest of these provinces so that the Young Turk gave only the immediate incentive. Italy had established steamship lines from Tripoli to Tunis, Alexandria and Rome. She had developed commercial and banking relations with the provinces. She had established a parcels post, opened and patrolled internal lines of communication in order to further the commerce of the provinces. In every possible way she had made the provinces economically attached to her and dependent upon her. Italy's position in the provinces had been recognized in 1901 by France in return for Italy's recognition of the French position in Morocco. At the conference of Algeciras, the principle of Italian interests in the provinces was recognized by all the Great Powers. But in this recognition, the Triple Alliance had reckoned on the old Turkey, not on the Young Turk. To thwart the plans of Italy, the Young Turk immediately set to work. With the administration in his hands this was not difficult, although he had no means of replacing, for the benefit of the province, what he was destroying in Italian development. Italians were subjected to mistreatment, all concessions were refused, the parcels post was destroyed by poor administration and by the veiled attacks of the natives upon the lines of communication. In short, Italy was made to feel that her influence was at an end. Wishing to complete her work in a peaceful manner she tried negotiation, but this failed. She had gone too far and had spent too much, to give up; and so she prepared for war.

Outgrowth of Work of Young Turk.

The time was propitious. The Agadir incident [1] had attracted the interest of Europe for the moment. Germany was too deeply involved with France to interfere with her ally. In September, 1911, war was declared. Italy hoped by prompt action and a swift decisive attack, to force the Turk to accept the inevitable. She, therefore, gave notice to the Great Powers that she would not interfere with the Dardanelles. The Young Turk was not

War with Italy.

[1] See Part II, Chap. 4.

easily convinced that he could not hold the provinces. He did what he could to make Italy's military occupation unprofitable and then sat down to wait. Had there been no other difficulties in his way, the Young Turk might have succeeded, but Albania was in rebellion and the affairs of Macedonia were rapidly approaching a crisis. Turkey was, therefore, compelled to make a peace by which she recognized Italy's right to the provinces, Italy keeping possession of a group of islands in the southern Aegean to insure the completion of the peace terms.

Significance of Italian War.

The significance of the Italian war with Turkey is to be found in two directions. First of all, it went a step further in completing the internal disorder of Turkey and precipitating the Balkan wars. In the second and far more important place, it had a tremendous influence in precipitating the diplomatic crisis in the Near East. It was difficult enough for Germany to retain her influence in Turkey when her ally, Austria, seized Bosnia. The Young Turk would not understand why Germany could not aid Turkey if she wanted to do so, and came near having his eyes opened to see that his country was but a pawn in the hands of the Central Powers. Her helplessness, however, made it impossible for Turkey to resent Austria's breach of faith, beyond a boycott. It was even more difficult to explain the Italian seizure of Tripoli. Germany resented the Italian move very keenly. It was a declaration of Italian independence of her two allies, Germany and Austria. The seizure of Bosnia, Italy naturally interpreted as an intention on the part of Austria to strengthen her position on the Adriatic. In spite of Austrian assurances to the contrary, Italy strongly opposed this step taken by Austria. The question of the Adriatic was too vital a matter to her. She continued to believe that Austria was playing a two-faced game. If Austria failed to reach the Aegean by way of Salonica there could be no question of her intention to make safe the possession of the Adriatic. Italy's attack on Tripoli, therefore, could only be interpreted by Germany and Austria as a declaration of independence which Germany tried to modify as far as possible by accepting the right of Italy to seize the provinces. Such a position further embarrassed Germany's position in Turkey. Her influence there might have been seriously compromised had it not been that, at the critical moment, France refused to loan the Turk any more money and Germany was able to purchase forgiveness by furnishing the Turk means to carry on the war. Thus, Germany, the head of the Triple Alliance, was sanctioning the work of one of her allies while furnishing the money to another ally, with which to carry on the war. Germany

probably saw that the possession of Tripoli would tend to draw Italy away from the Triple Alliance and toward the Triple Entente. This was true, in case of war, because these provinces would be at the mercy of the fleet of the Western Powers. In order to combat this tendency, Germany was forced to acquiesce in Italy's work, hoping thus to save the actual breakup of the Triple Alliance, and, in case of war, to keep Italy from actively joining the Western group of states.[2]

So much for the first event that was precipitated by the Young Turk revolution. The other event, more important because so clearly more disastrous to Turkey, to the plans of Germany, and to the Triple Alliance, as well as to the general diplomatic situation in the Near East, was the Balkan war. The immediate causes of the Balkan wars were: the Cretan question, the Macedonian question, and the war between Italy and Turkey. The more remote causes, of course, are to be found in the whole course of the Turkish rule in Europe.

The Balkan Wars.

One of the unfortunate inheritances of the Young Turk was the Cretan question. In 1897, after the Turko-Greek war, Crete was given its autonomy by the Great Powers, and, in 1898, Prince George, son of the King of Greece, was appointed by the ministry as governor of Crete. He remained until 1908, when he retired as the result of internal conditions and his own folly in dealing with the islanders. The Great Powers then asked the King of Greece to appoint a successor. A former minister of Greece was appointed to the post. The revolution in Turkey led to a Cretan proclamation of the union of Crete with Greece. The Powers refused to accept this proclamation, but announced themselves as ready to discuss the subject with the Turk. Failing to agree upon definite action, they decided to withdraw from the island, though they still refused to the Cretan the right of union. For several years things were at cross purposes. The Turk began to hope for the re-attachment of Crete to Turkey and to force the issue, laid an embargo upon Greek products.

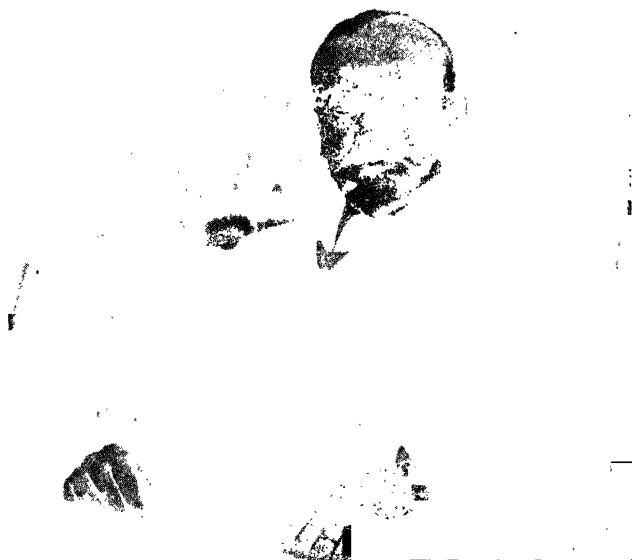
The Cretan Question.

In 1910, Venizelos, the Cretan prime minister, recognizing the hopelessness of securing any action by the Powers, resolutely turned his back upon Crete and entered Greek politics for the purpose of preparing Greece for the settlement of the question. He was definitely prepared for a union with the Balkan states and recognized that the Greek dream of a united Hellas must

Venizelos.

[2] The German-Italian negotiations, after war was begun in 1914, show clearly enough that Germany had no hope of securing Italy's active aid but did hope to keep her from giving aid to Germany's enemies.

give way to a more practical scheme. Greece might secure the Hellenic Islands of the Aegean, but she must content herself with only a part of Macedonia instead of the whole.

With this idea firmly fixed in mind, Venizelos, first of all, as Prime Minister of Greece, reorganized the finances, the army, the navy, and strengthened the allegiance of the nation to the dynasty. He then began his propaganda to secure to Greece the Island of Crete and to

Daily Mirror

MR. VENIZELOS—THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER.

drive Turkey from Europe. In all probability, he could never have prepared Greece for this step had it not been that the Turkish boycott had struck at a vital spot in Greek affairs. More than anything else, it forced the nation to follow its new leader and to substitute for the idle dream of uniting Macedonia to Greece the practical plan of a Balkan Union.

The second cause of the war was the Young Turk's treatment of Macedonia and the general recognition that, in time, Macedonia would, under such treatment, become an integral part of the Turkish

nationality. In 1909, a part of the Young Turk's program in Bosnia was to recall thousands of Turks from that province and settle them in Macedonia as a partial scheme of nationalization. This was supplemented by further emigration from Asia Minor into Macedonia, and a policy of massacre aimed at destroying or forcing out the more recalcitrant among the inhabitants. On the other hand, Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece had for years carried on a policy of nationalization in Macedonia with the idea in the mind of each that eventually when the province fell from Turkey's grasp, the bulk of it at least should come to the successful contestant. This is why the development of concerted action was seemingly impossible. There were three claimants besides Turkey and each one had used patriotism, religion and education to further her interests. But they had done more. That the beginning of much of the bloodshed and massacre in Macedonia can be traced to at least Bulgaria, if not to each of the three states, there is no question. Its purpose was to force the interference of the Great Powers, and thus to stop the work of the Young Turks in the nationalization process and to strengthen the influence of the Christian states in the unhappy province.

The Macedonian Situation.

How, then, could these three contestants for Macedonia unite to wrest the province from Turkey and make plans for its peaceful division or organization as an independent state? Nevertheless, the seemingly impossible thing happened. It must be recalled that it was the part of Venizelos to persuade Greece that she must relinquish her claim to the whole or any great part of Macedonia. On the other hand, King Ferdinand was cognizant of a treaty which had put Roumania into agreement with Austria who was known to oppose the Bulgarian ambitions against Turkey. This enabled Bulgaria and Serbia, because of Austria's common hostility, to negotiate and eventually to form a treaty of alliance. It is worth noticing that a part of the Bulgarian-Serbian treaty aimed at the support of each of these states against Austria's possible attack on Serbia and that of Roumania on Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian-Serbian Treaty.

What, then, was the position taken by each of the interested Great Powers? Russia favored the war because she believed the Allies would defeat Turkey. Such a defeat would strengthen Serbia, a certain ally, and weaken the influence of both Germany and Austria, a much desired end. Germany also favored the war. She had organized and armed the Turkish forces which because of the nature of the Italian war were still untried. She, rightly, had no faith in the success of the alliance of the Balkan states and be-

Attitude of the Great Powers.

lieved that their defeat would enable Austria successfully to carry through her designs upon Serbia. Austria favored the war for its weakening effect on Serbia. All three of these Powers were willing to take the chances of having a general war precipitated because each felt her own position to be too strong for her to lose in such an eventuality. When it was too late, the European Concert under England's leadership notified the Balkan confederates that they were prepared to take in hand the work of reform in Macedonia and that in any event the Concert would insist upon the status quo[3] in the Balkans.

The Balkan states issued their ultimatum to Turkey, who, believing that the European Concert would not permit war, contemptuously refused it and withdrew her representatives from the Balkan capitals. War was at once declared and was completed by the overwhelming defeat of Turkey in a few short months.

The Treaty of London.

"The treaty of London, May 30, 1913, which resulted from the negotiations that followed, decreed the dismemberment of Turkey in Europe. Everything was ceded by the Porte except the strip of territory bounded on the west by a line running from Enos on the Aegean to Midia on the Black Sea. Albania was given to the Powers, who were to decide upon its status and frontiers. The rest of the territory west of the Enos-Midia line was ceded to Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece for division among themselves, doubtless in the well founded hope that they could not agree.[4] Crete was given to the Allies, but the Aegean islands were left to the Powers."

Result of Treaty of London.

This treaty laid the basis for the second Balkan war. The Balkan states had never in their wildest dreams contemplated such a complete victory. Moreover, the terms forced by the Concert carried the germs of a complete lack of agreement. In demanding that Albania should be given to the Concert for organization and the settlement of its boundaries, the Great Powers announced that they could not accept the Bulgar-Serbian pre-war treaty. This treaty had recognized Servia's right to secure a port on the Adriatic and now this was denied her. The war would have guaranteed the whole of Albania to Servia and Montenegro; this outcome was wholly unacceptable to both Austria and Italy. The treaty of London, therefore, upset the plans of the Balkan allies in order to quiet Austria and Italy; and in so doing, it precipitated the

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[3] Status quo. The maintenance of existing territorial conditions.

[4] It is more probable because the European Concert knew that they could never agree upon a division of the territories and because the Allies wanted to take from Turkey any chance to participate in the final settlement of the territory involved.

new war because it decreed a new and vitally different division of Macedonia. If Servia could not get a port on the Adriatic she must have one on the Aegean, and naturally the one she would claim was Salonica, just that one which neither Bulgaria nor Greece wished to give up, or, failing that, the claim to the old Servian portion of Macedonia, which Bulgaria would not relinquish.

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ALEXANDER STAMBOLISKY—BULGARIAN PRIME MINISTER.

Bulgaria, therefore, precipitated the second war because there was no possibility of negotiating a settlement which she could accept.

The Second War. Unfortunately for Bulgaria, again the unlooked for happened. Greece and Serbia were well situated in Macedonia, which they had conquered, and Bulgaria could not at first dislodge them. Before she could get the whole of her forces into the

conflict, Roumania, fearing Bulgaria's success and domination of the peninsula, entered the conflict against her and made the continuance of the war impossible for Bulgaria. To add to her bad luck, Turkey renewed the struggle and retook Adrianople and a large part of Thrace.

The treaty of Bucharest, August 10, 1913, which closed this second war, thus left a totally dissatisfied Bulgaria who was forced to cede to Roumania that portion of the Dobrudja [5] which she had demanded in 1913, and to give up the greater part of Macedonia, especially both the ports at Salonica and Kavalla. To Turkey she was forced to cede much of her Thracian conquests, including Adrianople. It is entirely clear that statesmanship in Bulgaria should have found reasons to avoid a second war. Turkey, although disposed of, was not prostrate and could be expected to take any chance offered to win back lost territory. Bulgaria perhaps might have won against Serbia and Greece and fenced off Turkey, if it had not been for Roumania. It has seemed probable if not evident[6] that the Central Powers were behind this sudden attack of Bulgaria. They believed fully that Roumania was still their ally and would be satisfied with the small port of the Dobrudja ceded to her by Bulgaria in 1913. They had, therefore, advised Bulgaria that they would support her in any further conquests that she might make from the two associates.

Treaty of Bucharest.

"The net result of the two wars for Bulgaria were: (a) the loss of about 100,000 officers and men, the devastation of a great part of the country and a serious economic crisis; (b) the expenditure of about 40 million pounds; (c) the loss of the greater part of Macedonia, which she had determined to annex, and the establishment of Greece and Serbia in that Province; (d) the final loss of Adrianople and a great part of the fertile province of Thrace; (e) the loss of 8,000 square miles of Bulgarian territory, which had been handed to Roumania." Altogether, a loss which established her eternal enmity to the rest of the Balkan states and decided later her course when the war of 1914 found its way to her door.

Results for Bulgaria.

This discussion of the Balkan and Turkish affairs has been difficult because of their great complexity and the fact that there is no question which can arise in the peninsula that can be decided on its own merits. Every question is circumscribed by two great series of facts; first, those which have to do with the age-long animosities that have grown up under the

Difficulty of treating Balkan Question.

[5] The territory lying between the Danube River and the Black Sea from the point where the river bends northward.

[6] See an article by Mr. Dillon, Fortnightly Review, May 1915.

Turkish attempt to govern a group of nationalities in a small extent of territory, where religion, race, habits and customs are hostile toward the imposed government as well as toward each other. The second series of facts are to be traced to the conditions that have made this small territory the highway to Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean, the very heart and center of all the diplomatic intrigues of the Great Powers of Europe. It became the center of this intrigue because here the lines of policy of the two great Allied groups crossed definitely and finally. No other way was left to Russia to reach the sea. No other way was left to Germany to reach the end of her ambition for world empire. And Great Britain, France, and Italy were forced into the maelstrom because of their relation to their allies or because of the dangers to their own position resulting from the success of one or the other party to the conflict.

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PART IV

NATIONALITY AND DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY

The Beginnings of Nationality.

WE must go far back in history to find the beginnings of nationality as early, in fact, as man began to be distinguished from the animal. Mr. Giddings says, "The original and elementary fact in society is the *consciousness of kind*",[1] and he goes on to explain that by this phrase he means the consciousness by which we recognize another being as like ourselves. We can easily trace the growth of this idea from its beginning in the early society of the world. First came consciousness of the difference between plants and animals, then of the difference between animals and man, then of the difference in men themselves, as black or yellow men or white men; and finally, differences began to be distinguished within the race, marked by variations in language and in physical and mental characteristics. Thus developed the social group out of which grew all the modern forms of society—the village, the church, and, finally, the state. Thus, in its beginnings, nationality is this "consciousness of kind" out of which is to grow as society develops, all those elements that bind together any particular group of people known as a nation.

Aids to the Growth of Nationality.

As men came closely into contact, they began to feel less fear of one another; and as time went on, they began to respect and trust one another. This respect and trust grew more rapidly in localities where men were able to communicate easily and still more rapidly, when they found common ideas in religion and in customs. In the tribe, they fought together, held their festivals together, made common cause to secure food and clothing, and little by little, developed a common law which all respected and habits which were moulded by constant intercourse. When the tribal period passed and territorial settlement took its place, it was necessary to start anew to develop this common feeling. Tribes found themselves in possession of land that was already occupied by other people.

[1] F. H. Giddings, Principles of Sociology, p. x. Cf. his Introduction, pp. x to end of chapter, for this paragraph.

With these people they had to develop all those feelings of trust and confidence and of unity which heretofore had existed only within the tribe. This process took considerable time, and we call that period of readjustment the Middle Ages. Of course, with the larger group, matters did not work out exactly as they did before. Men found that they could learn languages not their own, that a common religion was not absolutely necessary though they still felt its influence. They found, too, that direct association was not quite so important as before, because now they did not come so intimately into contact as they did when the tribe was constantly on the move. So it was, also, with food and clothing and the necessities of life. Thus, the element which was peculiarly the result of their contact—their common law and custom, their habits, their similarity in thought, their likeness which grew, as a husband and wife grow alike—this element became more important. It must be remembered, however, that not one, but all, of these elements were at work. Language, religion, geography which brought them into close contact, economic needs, and this common law and custom—all worked together to bring about the *consciousness of kind* which became the basis of nationality.

Effects of this Growth.

Generally, when we do things, we are not concerned with the result. Especially is this true when we play, when we make the acquaintance of other people, when we are busy with the ordinary routine of our daily lives. So, no one was conscious that this gradual development of peoples would result in building up barriers between nations. Every one was busily aiding to destroy these barriers as far as they came into contact with other people, and naturally, they were not concerned with the effect upon their relation with more distant tribes. Travel was so difficult that only few were aware of their difference from other people, and even the few were very little conscious of it until it had become pronounced. We need only to think of the church or the universities in the Middle Ages to realize how this worked out. The church kept its own language, and worked hard in the later period to stop the increasing differences among peoples. The university generally aided the church. Its language was a world language, its subject a world subject, its sympathy was with the church, so it was unconsciously opposed to the growth of nationality. But in spite of church and university, unlikeness between peoples continued to grow until, finally, both were compelled to recognize it and to throw in their lot with their own peoples. Thus, in the sixteenth century there was a tendency to establish national churches wherever religious revolt took place, and in many instances it was the

national ideal that was the determining factor in the revolt against the church of Rome. So, too, the university took on more of a national aspect. The state became conscious of the need of such assistance as the university could give and the people, or the nation, began to see in both university and church an opportunity for their self expression.

The Nation and the State.

It is not easy to make clear the difference between the two terms the nation and the state. It is, however, necessary to recognize their difference if one is to understand the part that nationality has played in modern society. First of all, let us say that the state is older than the nation and that in its early history it was only slightly interested in the idea of the nation. To be sure, a nucleus for the state had to be found within this conscious group, but only a very small group was essential. The moving principle in the formation of the state was conquest, the subjection of other groups through fear. We recognize at once that this is very different from those things which were drawing men and women into the nation. In the second place, the state was the result of conscious effort. In the Middle Ages, the continual wars finally served to reveal a strong leader who eventually founded a dynasty. In time, this dynasty founded a system of relationships, government which took some of the strain and responsibility from the shoulders of the leader. As this system was perfected, the state emerged. It controlled all the peoples whom it could, or all the territory in which it was interested or which it could conquer. Territory instead of people became its aim, and at last the state was organized upon a territorial basis with no thought of the unity of its people. In examining the treaties of the eighteenth century, we see at once how true this is. This was the century when Poland was divided among Russia, Austria and Prussia, when Sweden under Charles XII tried to found a great European empire, and when Austria tried to found an empire in which Italian territory was added to German, Bohemian, Hungarian and Slavic lands.

The Growth of Nationality in England.

By the side of this state and very largely independent of it, even sometimes directly opposed to it, the consciousness of unity was slowly forging the nation. The earliest and certainly one of the best illustrations of the growth of nationality is that to be found in England under the Tudor sovereigns from 1485 to 1603. The closing of the civil war by the death of Richard III on Bosworth Field, the union of the two lines that claimed the English throne, the great depletion of the aristocracy who had abetted the civil war to save their privileges, all gave to the new king, Henry

VII, an opportunity to establish his power strongly, to centralize and unify the powers of the state, and to secure a greatly needed period of peace for the kingdom. This reign of tranquillity came at a most propitious time. The weakening of the nobility gave to the growing middle class an opportunity to take their rightful place in the state. The king used them in administration and made much of them, partly to emphasize his own position as representative of the people, partly to keep a strong hand over the restless nobility. They were prepared to serve the king without questioning the form of service and so enabled the Tudor kings to establish an absolute power which in organization was very much like that which was later developed in Germany. It was a benevolent despotism, resting securely upon the middle class of society, aiming to do everything possible for the people; but without the military character of the German government and without that government's use of the aristocracy as a prop to the dynasty.

The time was propitious for two other reasons. The renaissance in intellectual and religious affairs was just taking firm hold of England and the great industrial revolution was just getting under way. In intellectual matters, the period transferred England from the Middle Ages to modern times. The period of Shakespeare seemed a thousand years removed from that of Chaucer, although Chaucer himself had indeed suggested the movement, in his spirit and attitude. But now individualism in thought became a passion that slowly permeated the masses and the peasant and the day laborer began to think of themselves as free men. So, in religion, the continental revolt from the old church spread to England and quickly took spiritual possession of the middle class. That the new despotic dynasty organized from this revolt a state church, made little difference, because the state church represented the ideas of England instead of those of the continent. In the English church, as well as among the independent sects, the spirit of the times appeared. In both, the great protest was in harmony with the principle of the renaissance, the right of the individual to think for himself and to work out his own salvation.

On the other hand, the great discoveries of the new period, the turning of all eyes to westward, were to do their part in the shaping of a national England. The crisis of this new movement came in the time of Elizabeth, but it had had its beginnings even before the time of Henry VII. The middle class generally had risen from the position of serfs. Having become prosperous, they wanted peace that they might continue prosperous. Their increase of wealth had fired them

with ambition; and whether this ambition was turned to better farming, the manufacture of English wool, the adventurous enterprise of trade and discovery and exploitation in the new world, the result was the same, for it all tended to differentiate Englishmen from the continental peoples with whom they had been at war. Finally, the long struggle with Spain which culminated in the defeat of the Great Armada, fired Englishmen with just the spirit which our war against Germany inspired in us—a spirit which is, perhaps, not so different from that which we had before, but which has now become a great national asset.

Thus, the Tudor period made England conscious of her nationality. It emphasized the unity of her people and differentiated them from all other peoples. It is worth noticing that no democratic movement was discernible in government, that in government the nation remained as much of a despotism as was the government of Germany before the war of 1914. Nevertheless, the spirit of the national movement was democratic in the sense that it involved the freedom of the individual in thought, religion and economic affairs.

French Revolution and Nationality.

In England, this consciousness of unity, the recognition of common ideals and interests, aided materially the fight for freedom under the Stuarts. It was in a sense, a struggle between the nation and the state of the seventeenth century, organized around the idea of absolute power. England, however, was far ahead of the continent of Europe in this struggle. The fight for personal liberty, nowhere successful until nationality became conscious, was finally ushered in by the French Revolution. The old monarchy in France with its basis in feudal practice had entirely ignored the personal rights of the mass of the people. Throughout the revolutionary period, whatever the government, whether republic or Napoleonic empire, the personal rights of the people were not forgotten. These were a permanent legacy. They meant that there should be equality before the law, the right of trial by one's peers, a speedy trial in which the witnesses faced the accused, and the public, if it wished, heard the testimony. There were to be no more "lettres de cachet" and long imprisonments without trial in which the innocent suffered alike with the guilty. [2]

These personal rights meant that men should have a right to speak their minds and to publish their thoughts, that they should have the

[2] "Lettres de cachet." These expressed the despotism of Louis XV of France which permitted him to issue orders for the arrest and arbitrary imprisonment of anyone he pleased. Without trial a person might be cast into prison for an indefinite period. Anyone who had influence with the king could obtain them with ease, and in this manner get rid of his enemies.

right of petition without being called to account by the arbitrary will of a monarch. They meant the boon of economic freedom, that men might move freely from place to place, engage in the occupation which they chose to follow, and reside wherever they found it best to pursue their calling. They meant the right to buy and sell when one chose, where one chose, without an arbitrary restriction which might be changed at will to defeat the interests of the whole people.

These personal rights meant, also, as the basis of democracy, the right of education; free public education which eventually became compulsory and secular when the new democracy recognized the full importance of an enlightened constituency. These first demands were not political, but personal. Political privileges grew out of these, as men gradually recognized the futility of trying to maintain personal rights without the power to enforce them, and as growth in intelligence widened the horizon of freedom.

The development of personal rights helped to nationalize France. The Tricolor of France symbolized the liberty, equality, and fraternity of Frenchmen. There were no classes, no lines of division, territorial or personal, but a united France. This unity made the Napoleonic era possible. That era, in turn, through Napoleon's efforts to get the people behind him, effaced all lines of division, and France stood forth a modern national state!

The Napoleonic wars helped to extend to western Germany these ideas of personal freedom. As Napoleon conquered these lands and reorganized them, French conceptions of liberty and of equality were carried in to them and were left there as a heritage of conquest. With the overthrow of Napoleon, the Congress of Vienna unfortunately left out of account this real work of the revolution. Under the spell of Metternich, Europe set itself against the advance of liberalism and nationalism which it considered a menace to the old monarchical state. Few statesmen of the period could comprehend the idea of the state controlled by the people without anarchy, and none could understand the complete development of personal liberty without political control of an absolute ruler.

Period 1815-1848.

The period from 1815 to 1848 in Europe is the period when the contest for personal rights and nationality was fought out. Everywhere the people fought for personal liberty, and more and more for the power to enforce it. This meant the establishment of the constitutional state based upon the idea of nationality, the new state demanding one thing which was largely a matter of indifference to the old one, namely, the homogeneity of its people.

This struggle involved the separation of Belgium from Holland; the overthrow of the Bourbon and Orleans dynasties in France; the rebellions in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary; and the establishment of Greek independence. It involved the grant of a constitution in Prussia, in some of the small states of Germany and in Piedmont. It involved, furthermore, the setting of the struggle of Prussia for German leadership and of Piedmont for the leadership of Italy. Poland might fail and Bohemia might fail, but constitutional liberty was too precious a boon to be given up, and nationality, with its counter part a democracy, had become a reality.

This was the constructive period of nation making. The modern state was not made, but the idea of the modern state was crystallized for each nation to work out in its own peculiar way. France fused with Europe and the ideas of the French Revolution became the ideas of European nationality.

Unity in the Purpose of Nationality

In transforming the old monarchy into the modern national state, and in placing the sovereignty in the hands of the people or their chosen representatives, much that was new and worthy had been introduced. Nationality had given the modern state a unity of purpose, that was very different in character from that of the eighteenth century monarchy.

The idea of aggrandizement to build up great empire had apparently disappeared. The government of a people who had common ideals, a common language, and a unified legal system seemed to be the desirable thing. A state with these characteristics allowed the development of the social, economic, and political ambitions of its people. There were, however, characteristics of the older state that were retained. The idea of the state as an organism remained the most supreme thing about it. The selfishness which had characterized it of old was not a whit lessened in the nineteenth century. The idea that it had a moral right to seek its own ends, even if those ends destroyed its neighbor, was not greatly weakened. The stability of the state and its consistency in action was modified by the fact that public opinion must now be taken into consideration, a public opinion that must always be more or less ignorant of any international question at issue and feel comparatively little responsibility because it came from the mass instead of from a small group. The nineteenth century product, the modern state, has infinitely broadened its economic life until it reaches into almost every corner of the globe, yet in so doing, it has accomplished little in the way of divorcing that life from the state organism. The state with its new and broadened economic factor has become a menace to all of its neighbors because

of the impossibility of restricting its economic needs within its own boundaries.

The National State not a Real Antagonist of War.

It will readily be seen, therefore, that the national state has lessened the likelihood of war by limiting the ambition of an irresponsible ruler, but that at the same time it has done little in making effective the responsibility of the mass in the question of war; while the extension of economic life and the retention of the old theory of the moral duty of the state to guard itself under all circumstances, has made war almost inevitable when attention becomes concentrated upon this external economic growth. The reason why we have come to regard the national state as identifying itself with the idea of peace is that for a long time its internal problems, social, economic, and political, have occupied the attention of the state to such an extent that it could give but little attention to foreign relations. The result is that diplomacy and international relations have not kept step with the developments in other directions. We have not yet solved our problem of world economics, and have not yet advanced beyond the eighteenth century theory of the state as the *summum bonum* or highest good of all civilization.

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CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF GERMAN NATIONALITY

THE French Revolution contributed three prominent ideas, historically speaking, to the nineteenth century. These three ideas were the idea of nationality, of political equality, and personal liberty. The idea of nationality has been one of the most persistent factors in the life and development of the western world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In Germany the idea of national unity was very late in its development. As already shown, this feeling of nationality arose in France and England as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries and reached a definite existence in the former in the reign of the Bourbons and in the latter, during the reign of the Tudors. In contrast to England and France and even Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands, Germany did not develop this feeling until the end of the Napoleonic era.

Contributions of French Revolution.

These are some of the reasons why the national state did not develop as early in Germany. In the first place, Germany was a part of the Holy Roman Empire which Voltaire said was "neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire." The emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were in many cases more interested in Italy than in Germany; at any rate, their interests were divided between Italy and Germany. Hence, they were unable to devote themselves to Germany alone; thus Germany remained a conglomeration of numerous petty states, with a unity which was only a unity in name and had no real existence. In the second place, the position of the Emperor unlike that of the King of England or France did not carry the idea of personal sovereignty. He received his position by election and not by divine right. Unlike the Kings of France and England, he was unable to conquer the feudal barons and thus unify his state. He gradually became a figure head which had no real power. In the third place, Germany in the development of her civilization was more distant from Rome than either France or England, and did not come under the unifying influences of the traditions which the Roman Empire gave to the western world. In the fourth place, unlike both France and England there was no regular succession of an unbroken line of kings of the same house. The rulers of Germany did not have the traditions of the Capetians of France or the Normans of England. There was no one like Philip II of France or Henry II of

Reasons why National State Developed Late.

England to break down the barriers of feudal opposition and of the church. Fifth, the long conflict between the world papacy and the world empire centered around Germany and Italy and prevented the rulers from giving their sole attention to either of these two great states. Sixth, the old Teutonic idea of inheritance prevented the state from being kept intact. On the death of the emperor or king the government was transferred, not to the eldest son as in England or France, but to all the sons. Seventh, the influence of the Reformation was such that it prevented national unity. It divided Germany into two camps and when Protestantism succeeded in Germany, the Emperor, who remained a Catholic, lost whatever power he may have had, and Germany did not become unified. In the eighth place, Germany never recovered from the disastrous effects of the Thirty Years' War. This war which left Germany economically worn out, which had divided the German states, and the German peoples, prevented the development of national feeling and delayed the progress towards national unity. Finally, Germany, instead of having one large state which dominated over all the other states, had two states struggling for control, namely, Austria and Prussia.

The French Revolution which did so much to develop a strong national feeling in some of the countries of western Europe did little to arouse a similar national feeling in Germany. Professor Rose, in his work "Nationality in Modern History", says that Rousseau's famous work, "The Social Contract", had for its main idea the development of nationality. He states that, "in Rousseau's idea of a general will he lays the foundation for a modern democracy and also of nationality in a complete and conscious sense." Germany in its entirety was not influenced by this spirit of the French Revolution in the same sense that some of the other countries of western Europe were. However, the western part of Germany was greatly affected by the French Revolution and hence we see there a tendency toward the development of a national feeling. One writer says, "The struggle with the French republicans did for the first time unite these peoples of a common language, in a common war for ideals of a sort and for righteousness of one species or another." Again this same writer says, "The sudden apparition of the French people as ravening beasts who not only destroyed their monarchs, dethroned their God, and incommoded or blotted out the small German principalities upon their borders, ... this monstrous apparition would naturally send a thrill of horror or of gloating right through the Teutonic nations. For the first time all German peoples together, princes as well as populace, could say '*We*'." The French Revolution then did in a way help to develop

among the Germans a sense of national unity. It hastened the development of national being by the attacks of the French on their king, thus arousing in the petty princes of Germany a feeling of a need of common dependence. The Revolution horrified the Austrian and German states in its attitude toward the church and thus encouraged them to come closer together. The writers and the French philosophers in their development of the idea of nationality helped to extend that idea among the Germans particularly in the western part. However, German nationality came really into existence through the conquest of Napoleon of Germany and the antagonism which this conquest aroused. In 1803 Napoleon began that unification of the petty states of western Germany which resulted in the Confederation of the Rhine. In 1806 at the battles of Jena and Auerstaedt, German national liberty is said to have definitely come into existence.

Political Ideas of 18th Century Germany.

The political ideas which dominated Germany in the eighteenth century were more or less dominated by the thought of internationalism rather than that of nationalism. Kant, the famous philosopher, in 1795 published his monograph "Perpetual Peace." In this he expressed the sentiments of his age for a federated and specific union of nations. "In no way was he influenced by the thought of nationality at the expense of internationalism." Goethe, the famous German poet and philosopher, called himself a cosmopolite, a citizen of the world. He looked upon himself as a world citizen rather than a German. Frederick II of Prussia spoke and wrote the French language. He could see nothing in the literature of Germany to emulate; thus, his influence, which in some ways might have helped nourish the plant of national feeling, was lost. Indicative of the lack of national feeling in the eighteenth century is the statement of Lessing: "I have no conception of the love of country. It seems to me to be an heroic feeling which I am well content to be without."

Arndt and National Unity.

The first man to develop through his writings the idea of national unity was Arndt. In 1802 Arndt printed a treatise in which he set forth his "belief in the idea of a united nation and state." A man whose influence was the greatest, however, in this respect was Fichte (1762-1814). There are two periods in his career: the period prior to the Napoleonic era; and the period during which he was influenced by Napoleon's cruelty and oppression toward the German people. In 1793 he published an anonymous pamphlet, "A Demand for Freedom of Thought to the Princes of Europe who Have Hitherto Suppressed It." In this he advocated the idea of solidarity of the people and favored the influence of the

French Revolution. As late as 1804 and 1805 he published another pamphlet, "Characteristics of the Present Age" in which he expresses his contempt for nationality and his belief in a world-wide state.

Professor Gooch, the English historian, says: "Nationalism is a child of the French Revolution, and Prussia learned at Jena what France had learned at Versailles." All students in modern history know that the results of the battle of Jena in 1806 mark the beginning of a definite German national feeling, and it was the address of Fichte to the German nation which called the German people's attention to their need of nationalism. In this address he states that the humiliating condition of the Germans of his day was due to a great extent to the prevalence of egoism, selfishness, and particularism; that Germany could only be regenerated through education. "His aim was to convince Germans everywhere that their present ruin was due to selfishness. Egotism had divided them into myriads of petty states and kept them divided, so that, what with political barriers and class divisions, they never caught a glimpse of wide and generous aims. He called his age the '*Age of Giant Selfishness*,' which had developed to the utmost on all sides and was about to destroy itself. The description is apt as applied to Germany; for, if the Germany of that time was a result of petty selfishness, Napoleon was also the incarnation of colossal acquisitiveness. . . . . Fichte was correct in his diagnosis of the disease which paralyzed Europe from 1804 to 1807."

"Egotism and greed had made of it a mere political rubble, and the cement of public confidence was nowhere to be found. Distrust must give way to trust (said Fichte); the old jealousy between German states must vanish in view of the urgency of their universal interests; in place of a class feeling which had weakened Prussia, there must arise a national feeling based on the perception of kindred aims and duties. Selfishness (said he) is destructive, for, when it has run its full course no firm foundation is left. That vice had ruined Germany."

Fichte and National Unity.

Fichte told the German people that their first duty was to the nation; that they could no longer shift the responsibility; every man must realize his duties and perform them manfully. His writings inspired in the Germans their common oneness and many poets of this period, Koerner among others, composed national songs and helped in the fostering of national spirit. The professors and students in the universities, inspired by the writers of their day, added to the flame of the national spirit.

One writer whose influence cannot be passed over in the development of a national spirit was the poet Schiller. Unlike Goethe, who

was a pure man of the world, Schiller had an understanding of the yearnings of the people and through his beliefs helped to develop a national patriotism. His history of the Thirty Years' War shows his interest in the suppressed attempts to overthrow tyranny. His famous play, William Tell, produced in 1804, although written around a Swiss hero, was designed as a German national drama. The moving spirit of the play, William Tell, symbolizes the desires of the common people. "The moral of the play is based upon the idea that the Germans should forget their petty quarrels and unite for the common interest." In this play he describes the birth of a nation. The people of Germany caught at the truth hidden in the play that the tyrant Napoleon should be regarded as a national enemy "and union against him was the paramount duty of all." The influence of Schiller and Fichte along with the tyranny of Napoleon at last aroused in the German people a feeling of their common unity. This feeling showed itself among the students in the universities, in which arose the organizations known as the *Burschenschaften* which had for their motto, "Honor, Liberty, Fatherland." These student orders began at the University of Jena, and spread all over Germany. They had a national basis and for their aim unity and freedom. The young men of the universities, cramped by the egoism and particularism of the petty German states, caught the feeling of nationality which the French Revolution had given to the other countries of Europe and began their agitation for the reëstablishment of the general German State. In 1817 at the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipsic [1] and the three hundredth of Luther's nailing the theses at Wittenberg, [2] the students had a great celebration at Wartburg. They burned in imitation of Luther some of the reactionary books of their day, speeches were made and they solemnly promised themselves to continue the fight for German national freedom. This movement, however, aroused the antagonism of the princes of Germany who feared the expression of freedom and liberty. The result was the famous Carlsbad decrees which prohibited the teaching of revolutionary doctrines, establishing a severe censorship of the press, and delaying the development of the new national feeling.

Schiller as a Nationalist.

One of the influences which had prevented German development

[1] In 1813 had occurred the battle of Leipsic, "the Battle of Nations," in which Napoleon was defeated. This battle was a unifying influence in Germany.

[2] The nailing of theses, questions to be discussed regarding indulgences, etc., by Luther on the church door at Wittenberg in 1517 is usually taken as the beginning of the so-called Protestant Reformation.

was the fact that each state had its own tariff laws and its own custom duties. In 1818 Prussia abolished all her custom duties. She then invited some of the other states to join her and we have as a result the establishment of the *Zollverein* or customs union. This had a similar effect upon some states of Germany to that which the adoption of the American constitution in its establishment of free trade among the states had in this country. By 1842 all the states of Germany except Mecklenberg, Hanover and Austria came under the influence of the Zollverein. The fact that Austria was not a member of this organization had great historical significance later in that when the unification of Germany came it was under the leadership of Prussia rather than that of Austria.

The Zollverein.

"While the economic advantages of the union were intangible, certain moral and political after-effects were not slow to appear. On the one hand, the Zollverein preached daily the lesson of strength and union, and on the other, gave evidence to every thinking man that the logical head of Germany was not Austria but Prussia, a state of a progressive policy, a power that did things."

"Under these circumstances the German national consciousness gradually developed an energy which in the long run would have to be reckoned with. . . Until a change had been operated in the consciousness of the average German he would feel a waxing pride in his nation and make clamorous outcry for political reform."

Before taking up the development of German nationality it is necessary in any review, however brief, to have a discussion of the national development of Prussia because, as has been indicated, it was under Prussian influence that the modern German Empire developed. In 1415 the recent ruling house of Prussia, the Hohenzollern, was of very little importance. In that year a Hohenzollern became Margrave of Brandenburg. It was not until the sixteenth century that he took the title of Duke.[3] The whole history of Prussia prior to that time was that of a barbarous semi-civilized tribe. Let me quote a modern writer: "We may say that the civilization of Prussia began many years later than that of southern Europe. Prussia proper did not accept the Christian religion until two hundred years after the Christian conquest, that the hypothetical dark age remained in that part of the world for five-hundred years longer than in the rest of Europe." In the seventeenth century the Duke of Brandenburg became Duke of Prussia; and during the same century, at the time of the Thirty Years' War, Frederick William the Great Elector added Pomerania to Brandenburg and

Development of Prussia.

[3] Duke was a title higher in rank to that of Margrave.

thus gained for his realm a sea-coast. In 1701 the Elector of Brandenburg became King of Prussia and during the reign of the father of Frederick the Great, the warlike ideas of Prussia were developed and the later Prussian military system was handed down to his successors. This martial power was one of the causes of the recent European war.

Frederick the Great.

It was during the reign of Frederick the Great that Prussia was welded into a strong centralized state. "True to Hohenzollern tradition, he distrusted the independence and reliability of the common people. He, therefore, deliberately trained his subjects to expect everything governmental to be done for them, not by them; he rejected their political coöperation and postponed indefinitely their training and education in state affairs. Frederick regarded the nobles as the strongest pillars of the state; from them too he sought and desired little governmental aid. Even the chief ministers were hardly more than secretaries, and the crown prince himself was not associated with the king in government. In short, throughout Frederick's reign in matters of common polity Frederick was Prussia. . . . When he died the Prussian world seemed to stand still. No one knew what might come."

Frederick William II.

During the era of the French Revolution for a short time during the reign of Frederick William II (1789-1797), Prussia was uninterfered with, but with the defeat of Prussia during the reign of his successor Frederick William III (1797-1840) by Napoleon in 1806, as has been said above, the unification of Germany may be said to have begun.

During the Napoleonic régime the common people of the individual states were almost completely indifferent to the world-epochal political changes going on. Frederick the Great, as has been shown, had no belief in the capabilities of the German people. He himself conversed in French and wrote his state papers in that language. The literature of Germany as has been already shown was almost non-existent. Now set in in Prussia a new national feeling. The reforms of Stein, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst[4] prepared the way for a real national state with a real national consciousness. The writings of Fichte, as has been shown above, called attention to the educated classes for the need of a new national feeling. It was in Prussia that this regeneration began. It was in Berlin that Fichte delivered his address to the German people and that Schiller's plays aroused a martial spirit in the soldiers of Germany which, as we have already shown, bore fruit in the battle of Leipsic. It was in Berlin

[4] These men reformed the army and the internal administration of Prussia. Stein issued decrees emancipating the serfs; Scharnhorst developed a standing army.

that about 1809 that William von Humboldt established a new state university. Also Prussia made great achievements in the character of her common school system. "By a series of laws, Prussian schools were co-ordinated into a comprehensive national system. . . . . . In Prussia first among European states the rudiments of learning were carried at public expense and by co-ertion of law, to every boy and girl in the realm with the result that by the middle of the century illiteracy had almost disappeared, and Prussia in the matter of the education of its people arose head and shoulders above its neighbors."

The Holy Roman Empire.

Austria had been the dominating country in the Holy Roman Empire. Since the fifteenth century the house of Hapsburg nominally held control of the Holy Roman Empire.[5] It was a vast conglomeration of various nationalities held together by the old Roman idea, namely, "Divide and Conquer." Nationality was played against nationality. During the Napoleonic régime Metternich, the arch-adherent of despotism, had become the real power. It was he who believed that he was destined as he said "to prop up the decaying structure of Europe;" that "all eyes and expectations" were "directed precisely to the point where I happen to be." "Happy is he who can say of himself that he has never strayed from the path of eternal law. Such testimony my mind cannot refuse me. My mind has never entertained error." This was the man who dominated the continent of Europe from 1815 to 1848. "The problem of the future of Germany rested in the hands of one of these two powers, Austria with its decayed imperial system and its various nationalities, Prussia with its divine right of kings, its absolute government, and its somewhat modern reforms."

Influence of the Congress of Vienna in Germany.

In 1815 Napoleon had been defeated at Waterloo and exiled. During the period of the One Hundred Days there had been called at the city of Vienna the famous Congress of Vienna.[6] This so-called congress decided the future political development of modern Europe. The congress attempted to destroy the new national feeling that had arisen in Europe as a result of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic régime. The congress took steps to reorganize Germany. Instead of the Holy Roman Empire, there was now established a German Confederation consisting of only thirty-eight states. Prussia which

[5] For discussion of the Reorganization of the Holy Roman Empire, see Part II, Chapter I.

[6] For more detailed study of the Congress of Vienna review Part II, Chapter I. (The Congress of Vienna). The discussion in this Chapter of the relation of the Congress of Vienna to German nationality is given for the sake of emphasis.

by the treaty of Tilsit in 1807 had lost the majority of her territory, now was restored almost to her former limits. Austria remained the same state of various nationalities, Germans, Slavs, and Magyars. Prussia by giving up some of the territory which she obtained in the partition of Poland for territory in Saxony and on the Rhine became essentially German. "Being German she was without effort and through no special merit essentially harmonious to the whole German state; whereas Austria largely identified with non-German interests, was obliged by circumstance to pursue aims which were not in accord with German nationalism and systems diametrically opposed to them."

The Congress of Vienna gave a constitution to the German states. The federative act of June 8, 1815, decreed that representative law-making bodies should be "established in all the states of the union." Those states which had come under the influence of the French Revolution were inclined to establish constitutional monarchies. In short, many of them under the influence of the Revolution had destroyed feudal privileges; had recognized the need of fairer taxation and the establishment of equal duty before the law. "It seems as though in Prussia, Frederick William III had awakened to the ideas of the new era; that in short the advent of constitutional government in Germany was at hand. He did re-organize the finances, established reform in education and an economic administrative system but when it came to granting a constitution he remained as hard as adamant." The constitution which the Congress of Vienna established made the Emperor of Austria president and provided for a parliament which was to be made up of delegates appointed by the sovereigns of the various states. This parliament was to meet at Frankfort on the river Main. Like our Continental Congress under the Articles of Confederation, the German Confederation was very weak and had no real power. Its membership was made up of kingdoms, duchies, grand duchies, and the free cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Luebec. The representatives were not representatives of the people but were representatives of the sovereigns. It was only a parliament in name and had no real legislative power. From 1815 to 1848 Austria under the sway of Metternich dominated the parliament and controlled almost absolutely the confederation. Prussia was content to "play second fiddle" to Austria. In 1840 Frederick William III died and Frederick William IV succeeded him. Although he was inclined to come under the influence of the new day he still feared Austria and Russia. Although this parliament held at Frankfort can in no way be called a representative assembly, nevertheless it held Germany together for half a century.

CHAPTER III

BISMARCK AND THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

HEREAFTER it will be shown that the unification of Germany became distinctly a Prussian problem. Austria, due to its numerous populations and the character of its rule, was unable to take the chief place in Germany. Prussia was the state which was to become the leader. Through its educational system and through the influence of the customs union, Prussia developed towards a natural leadership of Germany. For the sake of emphasis consider again the influence of the Zollverein. "The importance of the Zollverein in the modern history of Prussia and Germany can hardly be exaggerated. . . . For the first time Germany became a fiscal and commercial unit; means of communication and transport were rapidly developing; roads were improved, railways were constructed; her foreign trade showed a remarkable expansion. Between 1834 and 1842 the imports and exports increased by 100 per cent., and the custom duties rose from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000 thalers.

"Capital began to accumulate. Between 1833 and 1857 no less than £20,000,000 [1] were raised for the construction of railways while in the same years new banks were established with a capital of £30,000,000. To attribute the whole of this development to the customs union would of course be grossly inaccurate; but that it contributed an exceedingly important factor is undeniable." In 1840 an English writer reporting to Lord Palmerston [2] stated: "The Zollverein has brought the sentiment of German nationality out of the regions of hope and fancy into those of positive and material interests. . . . The general feeling in Germany towards the Zollverein is that it is the first step toward what is called the Germanization of the people. It has broken down some of the strongholds of alienation and hostility. By a community of interests on commercial and trading questions it has prepared the way for political nationality." It was this influence along with those mentioned that made Prussia the natural leader of the new Germany. Frederick William IV, due to his timidity and Austrian influence, was unable to accept the leadership but he had

[1] $100,000,000 in American money. (This, of course, is based on the rate before the war.)

[2] Lord Palmerston was a prime minister of England in the period before our Civil War.

paved the way for the acceptance of such leadership by his brother and his great prime minister, Otto von Bismarck, who was born in 1815, the year of the Congress of Vienna. He was educated in German universities with a view to entering the diplomatic service. He returned to his home community and there became a country gentleman. In many ways his career reminds one of the career of Cavour.[3] Living the life of a country gentleman; managing his

Influence of Bismarck.

PRINCE BISMARCK ADDRESSING THE GERMAN REICHSTAG.

estates; taking part in the councils of the community—all prepared him for his later premiership. Chosen to represent his local constituency in the Prussian legislative assembly at Berlin, he distinguished himself by embracing the royal cause and his opposition to liberalism. This brought him to the notice of the King, Frederick William IV and for this reason, he was chosen as a representative of Prussia in the German Confederation which met at Frankfort-on-the-Main. Here he came to know that the question of the needs of Germany was bigger

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[3] See Chapter upon Development of Italian Nationality.

than a local one and that Austria must be eliminated from the German Confederation before any united state could be established. In 1859 he wrote as follows: "I have brought away as a result of my experience from the eight years official life at Frankfort this conviction, that the present arrangement of the *Bund* (German Confederation) forms for Prussia an oppressive and at critical times a perilous tie. . . . . I see in our connexion with the *Bund* an infirmity which we shall have to destroy sooner or later *ferro et igni* (with fire and sword), if we do not apply timely remedies to it at a favorable season of the year."

A recent work discussing this problem says: "Early in his residence at Frankfort he had formed the conclusion that a struggle *à outrance* [4] between Austria and Prussia was inevitable. For that struggle he steadily prepared; cultivating the friendship of the minor sovereigns; strengthening their economic ties with Prussia; urging upon his own king a more independent and bolder diplomacy in the wider European sphere. At least one fixed maxim of his later policy is already formed at Frankfort: 'Prussia must never let Russia's friendship wax cold.—Her alliance is the cheapest among all continental alliances, for the eyes of Russia are turned only to the East.'"

In 1859 he was transferred from Frankfort to St. Petersburg where he remained three years and then for a few months prior to 1862 he was ambassador at Paris. These eleven years of diplomatic experience from 1851 to 1862 paved the way for Bismarck's later career. He emerged from the Prussian squire with his provincial attitude of mind which looked within Germany itself to the world diplomatist with his vision of Prussian leadership in Germany and Germany's leadership in continental affairs. His experience at St. Petersburg gained for him the friendship of Russia and his understanding of Russia's position and his ability later to make use of the support of the Czar of that country. His few months at Paris taught him the weaknesses of the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III. Both of these experiences were of incalculable value in his later experience. In 1857 Frederick William IV became incapacitated and his brother Prince William became Regent and remained in that position until 1861 when he, William, himself assumed the throne. "When summoned to the throne, William was already sixty years old, and was inclined to consider the book of his life as good as written. In this he was mistaken; and the fame which he harvested in the long reign of thirty years was not so wholly thrust upon him as is sometimes represented."

One of the first aims of the new king was to increase and better

[4] *à outrance*—at the very beginning.

the army. As a result of this we have the army bill of William I. This had for its aim in the first place the increasing of the number of regiments bringing the army in line with the increase in population. Secondly, the recruit was to serve from his twentieth year for three years for the colors unless he were a graduate of a high school. His next four years were to be passed in the Reserve subject to immediate call in case of war. From that the soldier went to the *Landwehr* for five years and could be summoned only in case of actual need. He continued a member of this until he was thirty-nine years of age when he became a part of the Landsturm which could be called out only in case of actual rebellion. In 1861 when the army bill came up in the Prussian legislative assembly for a second time, the members refused their consent unless certain changes were made in its provisions. This resulted in a serious conflict between the king and parliament. The king was unable to settle the problem and this resulted, as a last resort, in his calling Bismarck to the position of prime minister.

The Army Bill of William I.

The new premier determined to carry through the army bill at all hazards. It was at this time that he delivered his famous statement: "But Prussia must keep her strength intact for the favorable moment which is too often missed. Prussia's boundaries are not favorable to the development of a strong body politic. Not through fine speeches and majority resolutions will the question of the hour be decided—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by *iron and blood.*" This attitude gained for Bismarck the enmity of the liberal element in Germany but he determined to carry through his plans to develop a strong army because he thoroughly believed that it would be through the army that the unification of Germany would result. This paved the way for German unity later in the conflict with Denmark and the Austro-Prussian war and finally the war with France. Bismarck was an opportunist. By this, one means that he trimmed his sails to the need of the moment. Nevertheless, he kept always in view his one aim, namely, the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia with its absolute monarch. In 1863 there came the Polish revolt against Russia. At this time Bismarck unlike the leaders of the other countries of western Europe, took the side of Russia. He had several purposes in view. Among them in the first place, was to place the Czar under obligation to him and to his country. In the second place, he feared that a revolt on the eastern frontier of Prussia might bring about a similar revolt in Germany itself. When, later, trouble came with Denmark, Bismarck was able to make use

of the aid which he gave Russia in '63 to prevent that country from joining the enemies of Germany.

Obstacles to German Unity.

There were three obstacles to German nationality which Bismarck had to confront. One was the attitude of the liberal party which wished the unification of Germany under the control of the German Confederation, in other words, a revised parliament similar to that at Frankfort; the second, was the fact that Austria was still in the ascendency. This element must be eliminated; and the third, was the attitude of the individual states towards any centralized authority. Bismarck was strongly opposed to the union of the states unless it was under the leadership of Prussia. "Prussians," he said, "we are and Prussians we will remain." And again quoting him: "What has preserved us is that which is specifically Prussian. . . . It was the attachment of the Prussian people to their hereditary dynasty; the old Prussian virtues of honor, loyalty, obedience and courage which, eminating from the officers and from its bone and marrow, permeated the army down to the youngest recruit." Again he says: "Let Prussia be firm and they (the German states) will turn to her for support and she will once more be able to command a majority of the Diet."

Aims of Bismarck.

At the beginning his primary aim was to eliminate Austria; to make Prussia by the process of natural selection the sole leader of the new Germany. This opportunity came when trouble arose with Denmark over the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein. This will not be discussed in detail but it will simply be shown that Bismarck in this controversy was able to make use of the re-organized army and to bring about the elimination of Austria from German affairs. The story does not need repeating how through the war with Denmark, Bismarck brought Prussia into war with Austria. The Danish war had two inevitable results: (1) the danger of the old German Confederation, and (2) the elimination of Austria. As a result of this war, Prussia was led to war with Austria. Contrary to the expected belief of Europe, Austria was defeated and Prussia came out the real leader of Germany. Some of the other states, members of the German Confederation, united with Austria. Bismarck brought about his agreement with Victor Emmanuel by which Italy declared war on Austria. "The war was short and sharp. Within six weeks not Austria only but Germany, lay prostrate under the heel of Prussia. Peace was signed at Prague. Austria was to recognize the breaking up of the old German Confederation and 'consent to a new organization in Germany without the participation of the imperial Austrian state.' Venetia must go to Italy. For the rest, Bismarck wished to

treat Austria with all the leniency which was compatible with the permanent objects of the war. The indemnity was a light one, and at Austria's special request, the integrity of Saxony was respected. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, the free city of Frankfort-on-the-Main, together with the Danish Duchies, were annexed to Prussia; but by Article V it was provided that the populations of the northern districts of Schleswig should be reunited to Denmark if by a free vote they expressed a wish to be. All the states north of the Main were to form a Northern German Confederation under the hegemony of Prussia; the southern states were to be permitted to form an association of their own. Their relation to the northern Confederation was subsequently to be determined." By the seven weeks' war with Prussia, Austria was eliminated from the German Confederation and the new confederation of all the states north of the Main was established. The constitution was drawn up with the King of Prussia as president; with two houses, the upper house, the Bundesrat, and the lower house, the Reichstag. Bismarck as chancellor of Prussia became chancellor of the new confederation. Shortly before assuming the premiership of Prussia he is said to have visited London and spoken to Disraeli, the famous English statesman, as follows: "I shall soon be compelled to undertake the leadership of the Prussian government. My first care will be, with or without help of parliament, to reorganize the army. The King has rightly set himself this task. He cannot, however, carry it through with his present councillors. When the army has been brought to such a state as to command respect, then I will take the first opportunity to declare war with Austria, burst asunder the German Confederation; bring the middle and smaller states into subjection and give Germany a national union under the leadership of Prussia."

All these he had accomplished with the exception of uniting the southern states under the leadership of Prussia. Rather than do this by means of treaties, he preferred to bring war about with France. The opportunity came with a vacancy on the throne of Spain. Bismarck, as has been proved by Lord Acton, put forward to bring trouble with France the candidacy of Leopold Hohenzollern who twice refused the throne.

Upon the request of Napoleon III, King William of Prussia agreed that Leopold should not accept the throne of Spain but later when Napoleon's ambassador at Ems demanded that no Hohenzollern should ever rule over Spain, the King of Prussia sent this message to Bismarck. Bismarck has given to the world the unscrupulous message by which he aided this deception, thus flaunting, as he said,

"The red rag before the Gallic bull." This aroused the national feeling of both Germany and France and "On to Berlin" became the rallying cry of France. Bismarck had carefully seen to it that France should appear the aggressor and that she should have no ally in Europe. He published his conversation with Napoleon III over the question of Belgium, thus arousing the ire of England; his attitude in the Austro-Prussian war guaranteed the neutrality of Austria; it gained for Prussia the friendship of both Italy and Russia; the former, due to the Prussian alliance in the seven weeks' war; the latter, to the attitude which Bismarck had taken in the Polish question. In the eyes of the world, Napoleon III was the aggressor. During the Franco-Prussian war, Prussia was joined by the southern states of Germany and at Versailles on motion of the King of Bavaria, William I, King of Prussia, was declared Emperor of Germany. How the fates do change! It was in this same palace of Louis XIV at Versailles that the treaty which marked the overthrow of Germany in the Great World War was signed.

A meeting was called at Frankfort to sign the treaty of France by which France ceded Alsace-Lorraine to Germany and paid an indemnity of one billion dollars. The new empire which was established was based upon the constitution of the North German Confederation. Bismarck, the real creator, was made chancellor and became a real power until the accession of William II in 1888 and Bismarck's final downfall in 1890. He himself has said, "When I have my enemy in my power I must crush him." From this time on, the iron count ruled almost absolute. He had his quarrels with the Catholic church; his attempt to destroy the social democrats; his success in the establishment of the Triple Alliance and the isolation of France; his protective tariff which had for its aim the uniting of the states north and south into a new Zollverein so as to link them more strongly together by trade dependency; all these movements had for their ulterior purpose the nationalization of Germany and the making of German power and prestige greater in the world. Germany became Prussianized. The educational system from the elementary schools to the universities—even the writers of German history, aided in the nationalizing of Germany under the domination of Prussia. Some one has said, "Let me make the songs of its people and I care not who makes its law." So it was with Germany, the makers of its songs, the writers of its history and "Treitszke, the professors whom Bismarck affected to despise were, through the manuals of the elementary schools, and the text books of the universities, the apostles and disciples of Prussianization."

The Result of the Late Nationalization of Germany.

Had Prussia come under the influence of the French Revolution; had the influence of the Revolution of 1830 exerted the same results as in Rhenish Germany and the other countries of Europe; had Germany become liberalized and nationalized earlier in the nineteenth century, the recent world catastrophe might not have had to be fought. Any one writing the history of the great war of 1914 cannot fail to attribute as one of its causes the fact that Germany was much later in developing a national consciousness than the other great Powers of western Europe and for this reason her people were much more egotistical and more "cocksure" of their place in the world and the need of their *Kultur*. It is true of many people just advancing from slavery that they are boastful, pushing, egoistic; so with Germany the lateness of its national development helped to emphasize its national egoism.

Germany's rapid and youthful development accounts for much in its attitude toward its conquered peoples. . . . . the Danes, the Poles, and its colonies. It was like a boy with a chip on his shoulder ready to fight whomsoever threatened its national ambitions. Even yet it had not become thoroughly nationalized. It attempted to force its language upon its conquered province of Alsace-Lorraine, upon the Danish province of Schleswig-Holstein, and upon its Polish territories, with very little if any success. Its treatment of its colonies is known to the world.

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CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH DEMOCRACY TO 1832

No people in the world have been more jealous of their liberties throughout their history than have the English peoples. In the first organization of society by the Anglo-Saxon conquerors there were put into operation some of those forms which continue to serve as a safeguard of the rights and privileges of the individual Englishman. As the state developed and authority became centered in the King, there was begun the stern fight for these rights against the King's wilful exercise of his authority. In this struggle the Parliament was created, representing the people, to guard their rights, because the people refused to trust their individual liberties to the King. It found its form fairly well by the end of the thirteenth century, during the reign of Edward I, and then began the struggle for the expansion of its powers, which went on almost continuously until the "bloodless Revolution" of 1688 placed full sovereignty in the hands of the people's representatives. During the Tudor period, 1485-1603, the meaning of the term people was greatly enlarged. The break-up of the manor organization gave even the day laborer more independence, while those who lived on the land as tenant farmers or leaseholders became a free independent group. So, also, the small but important group of those engaged in trade and commerce as well as manufacture began to assume an importance hitherto unheard of. The Third Estate or free estate became a reality. As a result of this great change in economic and social life, during this time, together with the political and religious changes, the English nation was prepared in the Stuart period which followed, 1603-1688, to take a forward step in the attempt to define the term liberty. The early part of the Stuart period, 1603-1648, saw the gradual shaping of the political revolution, in the attempt to define anew the liberty of the people in terms which would include religion as well as civil life and government. The refusal of the Stuart kings to accept the people's will in the matter brought to a head the Revolution in 1688.

Anglo-Saxon Liberty.

Development in Tudor and Stuart Periods.

At this time Whig and Tory, Church of England men, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, united to ask William and Mary to accept the throne of England, and the people's definition of liberty was guarded by the Bill of Rights which marked the passing of sover-

eignty from king to people. Between the first Stuart in 1603, and William and Mary in 1688, two great documents bearing upon liberty had been written and added to that other great document, the Magna Carta that had been wrested from King John. The Petition of Right, 1628, presented to Charles the First, summed up the liberties of Englishmen and asked the King to respect them. The Bill of Rights, 1689, added to this petition a method by which those rights were to be secured. England had fastened upon constitutional government with the sovereignty resting in the people as the surest means of securing the liberty of the people.

Great Documents of Liberty.

From 1688 to the French Revolution, 1789, Parliament was regarded by the nation as this safeguard. Sovereign powers resided with it, and Parliament worked consistently at the task of reorganizing the government to make it conform to this theory. During the American Revolution the English people recognized that, in a sense at least, the American colonies had contributed to the defeat of George III, whose desire had been to return to the absolute government of the Stuarts. George's attempt was the last ever made by an English king to question the sovereignty of Parliament and the English people.

But the last years of the eighteenth century saw the creation of a new England. "There grew up rapidly in the years 1790 to 1830, a new smoky, grimy, manufacturing England side by side with the old pastoral and agricultural England." "The industrial revolution created new towns, filled them with factories and peopled them with factory workers." This development, with the French Revolution, changed completely the outlook of society. The old conservatism gave way in politics as in industry. The long war with Napoleon held in check political reform for the time but gave full scope to manufactures and to trade and commerce. The face of Great Britain was changed in a few short years by the industry and perseverence of the common people. It should be emphasized that this great display of energy and inventive power was due entirely to individual initiative. In the last half of the eighteenth century the nation had increased by 2,000,000 people. It had laid the foundations of a great empire and had lost its first great territory, the thirteen colonies. It had produced many men of genius, among whom were Pitt and Burke, Clive, Hastings and Nelson, Adam Smith and Bentham, Reynolds and Gainsborough, Wordsworth and Burns, Darwin, and the Wesleys. These names indicate the work which England was doing. "Yet during these fifty years the mass of the people were entirely bereft of political power; of the whole adult population only a minority, probably not more than a quarter,

Development in Latter Part of 18th Century.

could read; poverty was increasing side by side with increasing wealth, and with poverty there came also a lowering of moral standards which brutalized family life. . . . Such was the Britain that waged successful and relentless war against the French Republic and against Napoleon, the Britain which saved herself by her exertions and Europe by her example."[1]

The question still remained in 1815, when the Napoleonic war closed, as to whether the England that had saved herself in conflict with Napoleon could save herself in conflict with the old parliamentary authority which had ruled since the Revolution of 1688. The war with Napoleon had made clear the nation's dissatisfaction with the governmental forms created in 1688. The widening of the conception of liberty, the broadening of the idea that the people, not the old middle class, were the sovereign power, found the old forms inadequate, and in many ways the people's dissatisfaction was displayed.

Little by little this expression of dissatisfaction began to crystallize. The people had suffered greatly in the revolution of industry. All their former habits of life had to be changed. Their occupations had to change. They had to live in crowded, unhealthy towns instead of in villages and the open country. They became servants to mill owners instead of being their own masters. They worked for a wage in a new occupation which they disliked. Eventually they became angry and went about in mobs, destroying machinery. In a sense, the war eased the situation, for it took away the excess population which machinery methods did not need, and it kept the machinery itself busy by the increased demand for all products. When machines became accepted, the people centered their hostility upon Parliament and the Government, which seemed unable to give them relief from the new, hard conditions. Especially after 1815, the feeling grew all over England that the source of trouble was in Parliament. "From 1760 to 1830 the imperious demand never ceased to be heard in Parliament and without, that the House of Commons should be so reformed as to make it representative not of the crown and the privileged classes but 'the express image of the feelings of the nation'."

Reform Measure of 1832.

The reform measure of 1832 was preceded by a period of definite reconstruction of the ideas of English liberty. Behind this reconstruction was the industrial revolution and all that it meant to a great class of workers; there was also the deepening and broadening of the English spirit resulting from the work of the Wesleys and Methodism and the Evangelical movement, and there was also a new interpretation of society and the state

[1] Slater, The Making of Modern England, Introd. p. xli.

resulting from the philosophical writings of Bentham and the active work of his disciples in almost every field. Thus England put her stamp of disapproval upon slavery, while through the work of Robert Owen, she received her first constructive teaching with regard to the treatment of factory workers and her first definite knowledge of their condition. The work of Romilly began the final effort for the reform of criminal law, while from many sources, came the first definite suggestions with respect to administrative reform and the reform of the suffrage.

Through the great maze of practical reform runs the thread of the idea of liberty, a liberty as conceived by Bentham, very much broader and more comprehensive in its scope than the earlier conception. Thus it is that we approach the crisis of this era of the Reform Bill of 1832, through a gradually expanding horizon. The new conception is seen to depend upon a new organization of the government which represents and administers it. "The Reform Bill of 1832 has been called the greatest political fact of the nineteenth century in the history of the British people. But it is more than that; it is one of the most important liberty documents in the history of the world, and is worthy, in importance, to be placed alongside Magna Carta. . . . The Reform Bill severed the last chain which bound England of the nineteenth century to the Middle Ages. It was the final and complete cleavage between a modified form of slavery or servitude and those free conditions which allow the development of each individual member of the nation by giving him a share in the government. It was based on the fact that all men are equal in the sight of the law, that all men, irrespective of accidents of birth and lineage, of name or wealth, are alike equally entitled to protection both as to their lives and their property." [2]

The Presenting of the Bill of 1832.

The purpose of the Bill is splendidly set forth in the speech of Lord John Russell, a long time advocate of reform, who presented it to a House crowded by members "breathless with expectant silence." "The object of the ministers," he said, "has been to produce a measure with which every reasonable man in the country will be satisfied—we wish to take our stand between the two hostile parties, neither agreeing with the bigotry of those who would reject all reform, nor with the fanaticism of those who contend that only one plan of reform would be wholesome or satisfactory, but placing ourselves between both, and between the abuses we intend to amend and the convulsion we hope to avert."

[2] Chatterton, (E. K.,) Britain's Record, pp. 63-68.

"The ancient constitution of our country declares that no man shall be taxed for the support of the state, who has not consented, by himself or his representative, to the imposition of these taxes. The well known statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*,[3] repeats the same language; and although some historical doubts have been thrown upon it, its legal meaning has never been disputed. It included 'all the freemen of the land,' and provided that each county should send to the Commons of the realm, two knights, each city two burgesses, and each borough two members. Thus about a hundred places sent representatives, and some thirty or forty others occasionally enjoyed the privilege, but it was discontinued or revived as they rose or fell in the scale of wealth or importance. Thus, no doubt, at that early period, the House of Commons did represent the people of England. Therefore if we look at the question of right, the reformers have right in their favor. Then, if we consider what is reasonable, we shall arrive at a similar result. A stranger who was told that this country is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and more enlightened than any country was before it; that it is a country that prides itself on its freedom, and that once in every seven years it elects representatives from its population, to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom,—would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed, and how the people choose those representatives, to whose faith and guardianship they entrust their free and liberal institutions. Such a person would be very much astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound, and told that that mound sent two representatives to Parliament—if he were taken to a stone wall, and told that three niches in it sent two representatives to Parliament—if he were taken to a part where no houses were to be seen, and told that that part sent two representatives to Parliament; but if he were told all this, and were astonished at hearing it, he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns full of enterprise, and industry, and intelligence, containing vast magazines of every species of manufactures, and were then told that these towns sent no representatives to Parliament. Such a person would be still more astonished, if he were taken to Liverpool, where there is a large constituency, and told, 'here you will have a fine specimen of a popular election.' He would see bribery employed to the greatest extent and in the most unblushing manner; he would see every voter receiving a number of guineas in a box, as the price of his corruption; and after such a spectacle, he would no doubt be much astonished that a na-

[3] A statute defining feudal taxation. This statute was passed in the reign of Edward I.

tion whose representatives are thus chosen, could perform the functions of legislation at all, or enjoy respect in any degree. I say then, that if the question before the House is a question of reason, the present state of representation is against reason.

"The confidence of the country in the construction and constitution of the House of Commons is gone. It would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Leeds and Manchester to Galton and old Sarum, than to reëstablish confidence and sympathy between this House and those whom it calls its constituents. If therefore, the question is one of right, right is in favor of Reform; if it be a question of reason, reason is in favor of Reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency are in favor of Reform."[4]

The struggle over the Bill was long and bitter. In the House of Commons although there was little difficulty in finding a majority for the Bill, it was necessary to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country, which strongly supported the reformers. The House of Lords, however, refused emphatically to admit the measure, until the King was forced by Earl Gray, the prime minister, to agree to appoint enough additional members of the Upper House to give the Bill a majority. In the face of this threat a hundred lords absented themselves from the House, thus permitting the Bill to pass and to go to the King for his signature.[5] The Bill as it was finally passed disenfranchised fifty boroughs and took from thirty small boroughs one member each. The 141 seats thus vacated were distributed among the large towns, twenty-two receiving two members each and twenty-one one member each. The county membership was increased from ninety-four to one hundred fifty-nine, while the remaining thirteen members were given to Scotland and Ireland. The Bill moderately extended and equalized the franchise. In the boroughs the vote was given to all householders paying a rental of £10 a year. In the counties the forty shilling freeholder already voting was allowed to keep his vote, but a £10 qualification for freeholders, copy holders, and lease holders for sixty years, was added. A £50 qualification was fixed for the short term lease holder and for tenants at will. The Bill was received with great joy by the people at large and with much misgiving by the landed classes. Its great effect was to extend the franchise to the commercial classes. About 500,000 voters were added, but "five out of six of the people were still without a vote." [6]

Terms of the Bill of 1832.

[4] Quoted in Molesworth, The History of the Reform Bill, pp. 103-119.

[5] The King may create new peers and in order to secure the consent of the Lords to the Bill, Earl Gray persuaded the King to thus coerce the House of Lords.

[6] Green, History of the English People, p. 853.

"The Revolution of 1688 had transferred the chief power from the sovereign to the landed aristocracy. The Reform Bill shifted the balance (that is transferred the power) to the commercial and industrial class." Its effect on government was instantaneous and decisive. "The system of cabinet government became a reality for the ministers henceforth represented a popular majority in the House of Commons and not one manipulated by the sovereign and the land owning magnates who had so long controlled the old pocket boroughs. The passage of the measure had demonstrated, too, that in a crisis the House of Lords could not defy the popular will. Furthermore the triumph was an indication that the principle of change which had been struggling for expression during the past decade was going to prevail." [7]

Results of the Reform Bill of 1832.

[7] Cross, History of England and Greater Britain, p. 917.

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CHAPTER V

ENGLISH DEMOCRACY SINCE 1832

"ENGLAND has acted on the world as a principle of release for freedom, sometimes by irritating it into activity, as with the American colonies, sometimes by coöperating with it, as in Canada and Australia. The balance of power has departed from England to a wider area. But the principle of government which creates and directs that power continues to be an English principle. It is the principle of democratic control." [1]

The Reform Period after 1832.

When the great democratic revolution of 1832, heralded by the Reform Bill of that year, had been made the possession of Englishmen by being inscribed upon the statute books, the nation set to work through its new Parliament to bring about religious, economic and social reforms which had all waited for the settlement of the parliamentary reform movement. The first reform Parliament was very fruitful in reform legislation. Relief was given to the Irish Catholics by limiting the number of Sees of the Church of England throughout Ireland and levying an income tax upon the higher English clergy for the benefit of the parish clergy. Slavery was abolished in the colonies as the result of the strong wave of moral sentiment which swept over England. The charters of the East India Company were modified in the interests of the Indian people. The first great factory act was passed in the interests of the workers, and the old system of the poor laws, existent in the time of Elizabeth, was destroyed and the foundations were laid for the modern methods of caring for the poor.

The activity of Parliament could not, however, satisfy the poor people, much as was done for them. They had, through public sentiment, petitions and public meetings, forced the Act of 1832 upon Parliament; now it seemed to them that the great gains had all gone to the middle class. As they reasoned the matter, they had only increased the number of the aristocracy. One of the chief benefits of the peace of 1815 to the working man was the fall in the price of provisions. Grain fell from 100 shillings a quarter [2] to sixty-five shillings. Three classes conceived that they had an interest in the Corn Law of 1815 (passed by Parliament because of the rapid fall in prices) and its successors—the parson, whose tithe varied with the price of corn, the tenant farmer, and the landlord. These classes had

[1] Gleason, Inside the British Empire, p. 3.

[2] *A quarter=8 bushels, a shilling 25 cents of our money.*

for twenty years been enjoying an artificial prosperity from the war prices so injurious to the nation at large. During the first years of the nineteenth century, landlords' rents had doubled in many districts in England and large tracts of new land had been brought into cultivation. . . Before the war ended, the farmers had come to regard comfort and plenty as theirs by right. To the farmer, therefore, as well as to the landlord, the fall of prices on the return of peace seemed a calamity at variance with the laws of nature and providence. The farmer, instead of agitating against the landlord for a proper reduction of rents, combined with him to demand an improper enhancement of prices. So Parliament passed the Corn Law of 1815. This famous measure absolutely prohibited the importation of foreign corn until wheat stood at eighty shillings a quarter, and other grain at prohibitive rates."[3] The Bill, in harmony with the character of the legislation of the time, aroused the passions of the lower classes, already excited by the conservative action of the government. This feeling, strengthened by the very lame amendment of the law of 1815 in 1828, had largely influenced the reform movement of 1832. However, the reform Parliament was slow to reopen the question of the price of provisions.

The Corn Laws.

In 1840, when a renewed agitation was begun, the secretary of the Board of Trade reckoned that the Act of 1828 advanced the price of grain enough to cost the people thirty-six million pounds [4] per year, which meant that every man, woman and child contributed ten shillings annually to keep up the landlords' rents. The poor classes in England, who ate little meat and depended mainly on bread, paid a disproportionate share of the tax. Bright, the apostle of free trade, said, "I confess I have more sympathy with the millions of the working classes of Yorkshire and Lancashire than I have with the merchants and manufacturers of England. The latter are able to help themselves, and if they choose to invite upon their necks the hoofs of the landed oligarchy, they deserve the trampling."[5]

The hope of the lower classes and their salvation were in the hands of the middle classes. Among the manufacturing elements, the doctrines of Adam Smith respecting free trade were beginning to take hold. Following the Napoleonic wars until 1850 the trade of England did not materially increase. The commercial leaders soon understood that the tariffs were at fault, and finally, although slowly, the great English middle class came to the support of the masses in favor of free trade and cheaper food. The "Chartist" movement, so called

[3] Trevelyan, The Life of John Bright, pp. 48-49.
[4] A pound = 20 shillings or about 5 dollars.
[5] Trevelyan, John Bright, p. 53.

because a charter of rights was prepared, from 1838 to 1842, was in a sense a declaration of the intention of the people to force their way into politics in order to secure their desires. The movement came too early because middle class support was not yet secured.

In 1842, when Cobden and Bright undertook the leadership of the Corn Law Reform, it was separated from any political question, and when the working men accepted their leadership there was cemented that partnership between the classes which secured the economic welfare of both and was the real beginning of the enfranchisement of the laborer. The agitation for social and economic reform by so large a part of the nation drew the sympathy of Peel, then prime minister. His budget of 1842 was the beginning of the end of the system of tariff protection. It revived the income tax, which heretofore had been used only as a war pressure, and with its aid began to remove the burdensome indirect taxes on the export of manufactures and the import of raw materials. In the next four years Peel was able to boast that in spite of hostile tariffs abroad English exports had increased ten million pounds. The food taxes, however, were interfered with but little in the budget of 1842. The measure or bill of 1828 was modified so as to reduce the price of corn (grain), from sixty-four shillings per quarter to fifty-six shillings, where it was to be guarded as sacredly in favor of the landlord as it had ever been. The reformers were not at all satisfied with this toying with grain prices and the tariff, for, so long as they were artificially kept above normal while wages remained at normal, the laboring man had to work at a disadvantage.

"The Corn Law," said Bright, "is as great a robbery of the man who follows the plough as it is of him who minds the loom, with this difference, that the man who follows the plough is of the two, nearest the earth, and it takes less power to press him into it. . . . How can they be men under the circumstances in which they live? During the period of their growing up to manhood, they are employed at odd jobs about the farm or the farmyard, for wages which are merely those of little children. In Lancashire every man who marries is considered an enemy of the parish; every child who is born into the world, instead of being a subject for rejoicing to its parents and to the community, is considered as an intruder come to compete for the little work and the small quantity of food which is left to the population. . . . And then a fat and sleek dean, a dignitary of the church and a great philosopher, recommends for the consumption of the people—he did not read a paper about the supplies that were to be had in the great valley of the Mississippi—but he said there were swede,

turnip and mangelwurzel. . . . The people of England have not even under thirty years of Corn Law influence, been brought so low as to submit tamely to this insult and wrong. It is enough that a law should be passed to make your toil valueless, to make your skill and labor unavailing to procure to you a fair supply of the common necessities of life—but when to this grievous iniquity they add the insult of telling you to go, like the beasts that perish, to mangelwurzel, or to something that even the beasts themselves cannot eat, then I believe the people of England will rise, and with one voice proclaim the downfall of the odious system."[6]

From 1842 to 1846 the fight between the landlord and the laborer went on. In 1845 Peel introduced his final free trade bill, which practically made England a free trade nation. "In 1845 less than five million hundredweights of wheat and wheat meal had been imported; in 1847 nearly eighteen millions came in, besides the fifteen million hundredweights of maize intended to meet the requirements of the Irish famine. . . . In the six years following the Repeal, a larger quantity of grain was imported than had entered the country during the thirty-one years from Waterloo to the Repeal."[7] While wheat fell a little in price, the added consumption from forty-two to one hundred ninety-seven pounds per head of the population, very nearly maintained the price of 1845. None of the dismal prophecies made by the enemies of the bill were realized. "Thirty-one years of protection (1815-1846) had added rather less than £9,000,000 to the annual value of agricultural land in Great Britain. Thirty-one years of free trade (1847-77) added £12,000,000 to it." On the other hand, wages rose rapidly and the conditions of the working classes in town and country improved as rapidly. Food was plentiful and its price was within reach of the masses. Thus England was untouched by the revolutionary period of 1848 on the continent, and was able to hold the balance of sanity and to guide by her own development the direction of the movement toward liberty.

Peel and Free Trade.

The free trade revolution of 1846 is the preliminary of the Franchise Reform of 1867. The leaders of the earlier movement soon saw the value of the people as a political factor. Cobden, and especially Bright, had rightly interpreted the Chartist movement as a part of the greater movement toward economic liberty, and had placed themselves squarely in favor of it; recognizing the futility of a double fight, they had left the suffrage question in abeyance while the free trade problem was

The New Political Issues.

[6] Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, pp. 93-94.
[7] Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, p. 151.

under discussion. When, however, the free trade law of 1846 had been won, the men who had fought for it gave their strength and undivided attention to the suffrage. The free trade issue had broken up both parties, since the Tory landlords refused to accept their leader's (Peel's) bill. So, too, the Whigs were divided and hence in 1846 and 1847 the English parties regrouped themselves around new issues. The new Whig party under Russell's leadership, with the help of Cobden and Bright, took up the struggle with energy, but owing to the seriousness of foreign relations they were for some time unable to get the attention and support of the country. During this interval Gladstone found his way into politics and gradually was won over to the cause of suffrage reform, and it was largely through his help that the law of 1866 was carried. The measure did not go far enough to suit Bright, though he gave it his support. What he desired was to include the workingmen as completely as the Bill of 1832 had included the middle class. He estimated that the bill as drawn up by Gladstone would extend the suffrage to 18,000 workmen in the cities and would give none to the counties. It took some time to organize the fighting force of the Whig party behind the bill. Many favored a bill liberal enough to include the middle class not reached by the Bill of 1832, but to extend the suffrage to the great class of workingmen was an idea that only the most radical accepted without reservation. However, it was finally accomplished, and the party prepared for the struggle.

"Then began the battle of the giants. The leading combatants never left the House, and every one knew where to look for them. Nothing but the gangway separated Bright and Lowe, the two champions who represented the forms of democracy and aristocracy, now came to grips. . . . On the other side of the house, at the end of the front Opposition bench below the gangway, sat Lord Robert Cecil, the soul of the resistance on the conservative side of the House to working class enfranchisement, while across the table, Gladstone and Disraeli eyed each other, the greatest pair of parliamentary rivals since Fox and Pitt. If the time was great in its issues, the men who had to deal with it were themselves of no puny stature."[8]

"After a long, losing battle the liberal government of Russell was defeated on the anniversary of Waterloo, by eleven votes, in favor of an amendment that destroyed the first principle of their reform bill. Bright wished the government to follow the precedent of Earl Gray in similar circumstances in 1831 and appeal to the electorate.'"[9] Glad-

[8] Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, p. 353.
[9] Trevelyan, Life of John Bright, p. 257.

stone as cabinet leader of the House decided against the advice, and the resignation of Russell and his cabinet followed. The conservatives immediately formed a cabinet with Derby as prime minister and Disraeli as leader of the House. The friends of suffrage reform began anew their fight with the government, and the conservative party presented and carried a bill far more revolutionary than the one they had defeated in 1866.

The Franchise Bill of 1867.

The Bill of '67 worked out by Disraeli was calculated to accept reform and at the same time to strengthen the conservative party and continue it in power. Bright aided Disraeli by daringly putting reform above party and at once asking the conservatives to proceed where the liberals had failed. Gladstone was puzzled by Bright's action and rather mildly disapproved of it. However, he soon yielded and followed the lead of Bright in placing questions of reform and democratic control above party.

The Bill of 1867 established the suffrage as follows: in boroughs, all householders who paid the poor rates and all the lodgers of one year's residence whose annual rent was ten pounds. In counties, all owners of land of five pounds annual value and all actual tenants whose rental was twelve pounds. In the distribution of seats, 100,000 voters were taken in boroughs as the unit for one representative, and some of the larger towns like Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Leeds, received a third representative, though in the main the boroughs were confined to two representatives. Nine new boroughs were created and twenty-five representatives were added to the counties. The Bill of 1867 had thus definitely settled the question of the admission of the working classes. By the Act of '67 they became a part of the political life of England. It was not so important that all were not included. From this time on there would be no non-political class and the matter of extending the franchise could wait. It is interesting to note here that John Stuart Mill, during the fight in Parliament, for the first time suggested the extension of the suffrage to women. The success of the Bill of 1867 and the glory of it belongs to the liberals in spite of the fact that it was a conservative measure, and for the first time there is the recognition that "parliamentary reform should no longer be a question which should decide the fate of ministries", but that it should be the great business of both parties when its need was recognized by the country.

Terms of the Reform Bill of 1867.

The Act of 1867 had created a household suffrage in the boroughs, but had let the country membership alone. The later movement of 1884 simply carried the Bill of '67 into the country districts. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech introducing the bill, said, "It will add

2,000,000 (voters) more, nearly twice as much as was added in 1867, and more than four times as much as was added in 1832. Surely it is worth doing. . . We are firm in the faith that enfranchisement is good, and that the people may be trusted, and that voters under the constitution are the strength of the constitution. . . You will, as much as any former Parliament that has conferred great legislative benefits on the nation, have your reward and read your history in a nation's eyes; for you will have deserved all the benefits you will have conferred. You will have made a strong nation stronger still—stronger in union without, and stronger against its foes (if and when it has any foes) within; stronger in union between class and class, and in rallying all classes and portions of the community in one solid, compact mass around the ancient throne which it has loved so well, and round the constitution now to be more than ever free and more than ever powerful."[10]

Mr. Gladstone's Suffrage Act of 1884.

There was little excitement over the bill, and although the lords rejected the first bill, the agreement was reached over "sundry cups of afternoon tea in private conference" rather than through any pressure by the people. The difference in the public attitude is well described by Gladstone in the *Edinburgh Review*: "But speak to a reformer of '32 and he will tell you what a difference there is in the tone and bearing of the meetings held then and held now respectively. The meetings held half a century ago were worthy of the seriousness of the occasion. There was oppression in those days. The voice of the people was smothered. They had no hope of being able to make their grievances heard so long as all power was concentrated in the hands of an imperious oligarchy. The meetings of that time were grave and serious incidents in the life of a nation. They were the demands of a downtrodden people calling for freedom. They were the earnest gatherings of determined men. They meant civil war if their demands were slighted and their oppression continued. No man who recollects the crisis of 1831 would for an instant compare the present political aspect of the country with the agitation prevailing in October of that year when Bristol and Nottingham were in flames, when bishops were insulted in their dioceses, and peers dragged from their carriages in the streets, and one universal outcry ran through the nation, 'Down with the House of Lords'. At that time it would have cost a man his life to address a popular meeting in opposition to the Reform Bill."[11]

In 1884, after some discussion, Gladstone was persuaded to add a redistribution bill to the suffrage measure and the Lords gave way with-

[10] Gladstone's speech, Annual Register, Vol. 126, p. 92.
[11] Political Speeches of Gladstone in *Edinburgh Review*, V. 160, pp. 569-570.

THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT IN SESSION.

out serious trouble. The bill provided for an extension of the household suffrage, as given to the boroughs in 1867, to the counties. A new "service" franchise was added to include men not owners or tenants but not household servants. The Bill of 1884 thus excluded from the suffrage household servants, bachelors living at home, and those with no fixed home. These latter classes have been given the suffrage in the Parliamentary Act of 1918. The distribution act of the same year provided in general for "single member equal electional districts". Towns under 15,000 were merged with the county. Those between 15,000 and 50,000 were given one member each. Except in London and in boroughs and cities with a population of between 50,000 and 165,000 one member constituencies became the rule.

Terms of the Act of 1884.

With the Act of 1884 the struggle for universal manhood suffrage practically came to an end, and England followed America and France in their recognition of a democracy based upon the broad foundations of equal participation of all classes. When the great budget bill of Mr. Lloyd George was presented in 1909 the long opposition of the House of Lords created so strong a feeling that they were interfering with the sovereignty of the people that a bill was drawn in 1912 to check their authority. This bill made the power of the House of Commons in England complete and final. There was left only the question proposed by Mill in 1867, that of equal suffrage for women. This problem made slow progress to 1914, but the growing consciousness of the need of such legislation together with the very important part taken by women in the World War, brought it to a focus in the proposal for practically universal suffrage which became law in England in April, 1918.

Thus has closed one of the most interesting and one of the most picturesque struggles in history, a struggle which consistently aimed at the destruction of aristocratic and class interference with the march of democracy. At the same time it makes necessary the struggle of to-day over the problem of governmental activity. Now that the people as a whole control the government through the suffrage, the question of the socialization of legislation [12] has become of vital interest, an interest which the war has intensified a thousand fold.

SUGGESTED READINGS

SEE PRECEDING CHAP. IV

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[12] By the socialization of legislation is meant the problem of determining what questions of reform shall be acted upon by legislation and what question shall be left for individual control

CHAPTER VI

DEVELOPMENT OF ITALIAN NATIONALITY

ITALY'S development is in some ways very similar to that of Germany. She had been a part of the Roman Empire and during the barbarian and later European invasions she had been a prey of every warring nation. It was in Italy that the Renaissance had its beginning. The movement was particularly individualistic. The growth of commerce of Italian cities; the individualistic character of the states of Italy, like Greece in the times of Athens and Sparta, developed such strong animosities and rivalries that any attempt to bind them together failed. The continued strife between the empire and the papacy during the Middle Ages was a detrimental influence. Italy, like Germany, was a part of the Holy Roman Empire. Neither empire nor papacy was able to dominate and to use Metternich's phrase, "Italy was only a geographic expression." Italy came under the influence of the French Revolution with its slogans of equality before the law, of abolition of serfdom and religious freedom. Napoleon did much to unify the country. "Liberty and union were the two miracles performed by the French for the Italians." The freedom and union of the Italians, however, was short-lived. The Congress of Vienna attempted to restore the conditions which had existed prior to the French Revolution and the era of Napoleon. "Since the fall of the Roman Empire; parcelled out during the Middle Ages; conquered from the sixteenth century at first by Spain and then Austria, Italy almost unified by Napoleon had been again dismembered in 1815 by the treaty of Vienna." It was divided into some ten small states.

Individualistic Character of Italy's Development.

The Treaty of Vienna and Italy.

Among these the chief states were the Kingdom of Sardinia, ruled over by the House of Savoy; the duchies of Parma and Modena; the grand duchy of Tuscany, the territory of Lombardy-Venetia, ruled over by Austria or Austrian princes; and the kingdom of the two Sicilies under the Bourbons of Naples, descendants of Louis XIV. In all these states through the influence of Metternich, who at the Congress of Vienna had developed the idea of intervention, which had for its aim the suppression of every liberal and national movement, attempts were made to restore the old absolutist governments. Metternich abhorred revolution, comparing it at one time "to a volcano, to a fire which threatens to

devour everything; and then to a hydra which opens its jaws to gulp down the whole social order." In every Italian state, a severe censor-

ITALY IN 1921.

ship of the press was established; everything French was rooted out; the church was restored and education placed in its control. In some of the states even roads and bridges built by the French were destroyed. The parcelling of Italy into pieces; the restoration of absolutism;

the suppression of all national and liberal ideals; aroused the antagonism of the Italians who had gained a feeling of national patriotism. All these attempts to restrict liberty resulted in the formation of secret societies such as the Carbonari who had for their aim, liberty, constitutional government, and the growth of national unity. These societies hoped to accomplish their aims by means of assassination of the rulers in the various states. Two great revolutions broke out; the first that of 1820, which had for its fighting ground the kingdoms of the two Sicilies, and in 1821, Piedmont;[1] and the revolution of 1831 which broke out particularly in the papal states, Parma and Modena. Each of these revolutions was put down ruthlessly by the Austrians. The revolutions of 1820 and 1831 under the leadership of these secret societies gained their main support from the aristocratic families and the officers of the army.

Italy's Resurrection.

Beginning with 1831, however, the movement came under the influence of a group of young patriots who planned to bring about liberty and union by open methods. This movement is called the *Risorgimento*, the resurrection. The leader of this movement was Guisseppe Mazzini. Exiled in 1831, due to his supposed Carbonari leanings, this young patriot organized a society known as Young Italy. His aim was to bring about reform and revolution by methods of "bayonets with ideas at their points." He believed that every great reform movement must be preceded by education; that a people, in order to prepare for revolt, must understand its past—its history. He believed that Italy was to become for a third time the world's leader. Once Italy had ruled the world through the old pagan Roman Empire; a second time through the Christian Empire of the papacy; during the third reincarnation, she was to rule the world as a republic, a united states of Europe. The first Rome was dominated by the imperial Cæsars; the second by the papal curia; and the third would be a government of the peoples.

Mazzini.

It was his aim to develop a confederation of the peoples to offset the Holy Alliance of the rulers. Mazzini was the propagandist of the new day. His position in Italian unification was similar to the place which Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison occupied in the abolition of slavery. The Abraham Lincoln, the statesman of Italian unity, had not yet arisen. This statesman was to arise in Cavour of whom more will be said later. Mazzini was a great believer in nationalism. He did not believe in independence from the rule of Austria without the establishment of unity. "Never," he

[1] The names Piedmont and Savoy are interchangeable. They have reference to the kingdom ruled over by the House of Savoy.

said to his disciples, "never arise in any other name than that of Italy and only Italy."

Another group much larger than the followers of Mazzini was composed of those who styled themselves Reformists. They believed that revolution would fail, that instead of destroying the rulers they should induce them to grant constitutions. Italy was to be formed into an Italian confederation whose moral leader was to be the pope and whose political leader the King of Sardinia. They obtained their ideas from Gioberti, an Italian priest, whose work, "The Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians," exerted a great influence. All groups of Italians, however, were agreed upon one idea, namely, that the first step toward Italian unity was the expulsion of the Austrian from Italy. In 1846 Pius IX became pope. He was liberal in his ideas, having freed from prison several political prisoners and having allowed some fifteen hundred to return from exile. These and other measures gained for him great popularity. As a result of his example, Charles-Albert, King of Sardinia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, made similar reforms.

The Reformers.

Gioberti.

Pius IX and His Influence.

In February 1848, revolution broke out in France. It appeared as though Italy could now free herself from the Austrian yoke. Revolts broke out all over Italy. Constitutions were granted by the Kings of Naples and Sardinia. The pope was overthrown and a temporary republic established and finally a war between Austria and Sardinia ensued, to the defeat of Sardinia. Republics were established in many small states. The premature Roman republics established by Mazzini were suppressed by means of French influence and the papal rule reëstablished. At the battle of Novara, 1849, Charles-Albert, King of Sardinia, resigned in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel and it was under the reign of the latter that Italian unification was established. The history of Italian unity from this time on went through five principal periods: 1. Sardinia's entrance into the Crimean war, 1854-56. 2. The Austro-Sardinian of 1859-60. 3. The Congress of Naples and Sicily (1860) by Garibaldi. 4. The Italio-Austrian war of 1866 with the cession of Venetia by Austria. 5. The entrance into Rome by Victor Emmanuel II in 1870 and the establishment of Rome as the capital of united Italy.

The Revolution of 1848.

Charles-Albert had said, "Italy will survive in itself." ("*Italia fara da se.*") The events of '48 and '49 had taught some Italians that this was impossible. Cavour, whom Victor Emmanuel invited to be his prime minister in 1852, was among the first to recognize this fact. He pointed out that Italy could only be

Cavour, the Statesman.

nationalized by foreign aid. Before beginning a discussion of Italian nationality, from this point it might be well to give a short biography of the statesman who was the creator of modern Italy. Born in 1810 in Piedmont of a noble family, educated at the military academy of Turin, becoming like Bismarck a country gentleman, he devoted himself to assiduous study of social, economic, and historical questions To relieve the monotony of his life in the country, he made numerous travels throughout western Europe. Among the countries he visited was England, to the parliamentary system of which he gave serious attention. His experience, like that of Bismarck, became of inestimable value in his later career. He became one of the idols of the Risorgimento, patriotically devoted to the idea of establishing a constitution for Sardinia. His motto became "One thing at a time." In 1847 he became a member of the Sardinian legislative body and later became minister of agriculture and commerce to the King of Sardinia. "He pushed on reform apace; he improved the internal means of communication; removed burdensome restrictions on trade and concluded commercial treaties with England, France, Belgium, and other powers." As stated above in 1852 he became Premier of Sardinia. His aims were, in the first place, to develop in the minds of the people of Sardinia a national consciousness. He believed that charity began at home and so his first aim was to develop his native country. He established an exchequer; reorganized its military system; developed a more statesmanlike system of diplomacy and bettered its religious affairs. He did everything to foster education and improve the internal organization of the country. He accomplished his ends as far as Italy was concerned. Now it became his plan to plant the seeds of organization for Sardinia in the firmer soil of Europe.

The Crimean War Period.

Cavour surprised Europe by joining with France and England against Russia in the Crimean war. His purpose was to have Sardinia recognized as one of the Powers of Europe, and secondly, to take the side of the more democratic countries in their fight against Russian autocracy. At the peace of Paris which closed this war, Sardinia was made a party with France and England. At this peace, Cavour claimed that the continuation of foreign powers in Italy, especially the French and Austrian, was a danger to Europe. According to his statement, the question of Italy was placed before the "tribunal of European opinion". Now he planned to obtain the support of Napoleon III in making a war upon Austria and Italy. Napoleon was a strong believer in nationality; he himself had been a member of one of the Italian secret societies for the freeing of Italy. After an attempt had been made upon his life,

in 1858, agreement was made between Cavour and Napoleon III at Plombières. At this meeting, Napoleon agreed to free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. In return, France was to receive Savoy and Nice. Opportunity having arisen, war was declared against Austria. The Austrian army was driven from Lombardy and Napoleon then stopped his advance. At Villafranca he made a separate treaty with Austria by which Lombardy was given up to Sardinia but Austria still kept possession of Venetia. Napoleon had not lived up to his agreement to free Italy. Among the reasons given for this was in the first place that he did not wish the kingdom of Sardinia to become too strong in Italy; secondly, he feared the possibility of war with Prussia; and in the third place, he himself was afraid of war. His withdrawal from the war at this point antagonized greatly the people of Italy. Cavour resigned and went to his country estate. Victor Emmanuel, on the other hand, realized that what he had gained was better than nothing. While the war had been carried on against Austria the territories of Parma, Modena, and Romagna revolted and declared themselves independent of their former rulers. The Duchy of Tuscany also set up a separate government. Napoleon III agreed to permit these states to join Sardinia provided the people of those states so voted. By a large majority it was decided that these states should be added to the new kingdom.

The Work of Garibaldi.

Now comes on the scene the famous knight errant of Italian liberty, Garibaldi. His career reads like that of a mediaeval knight. He had been a participator in the revolutions of '30 and '48; he had been a captain in South American and in Chinese trade; he had lived in New York City. With the secret permission of Cavour he organized at Genoa his expedition of the Thousand known in history as the "Red Shirts" because of their uniform. This expedition having escaped from Genoa, he made war upon the kingdom of Sicily. Having defeated Sicily he proceeded to Naples and there proclaimed Victor Emmanuel as King on the 7th of September 1860. Later Victor Emmanuel himself defeated the Neapolitans. Before, however, penetrating into the Neapolitan kingdom, the King of Piedmont marched into the two provinces of the papal states Umbria and the Marches, and these were joined to the new kingdom. On the 26th of December 1860, the national parliament at Turin, the capital of Piedmont, voted the annexation of the two Sicilies and the Marches and Umbria. All that was lacking to make a unified Italy were Venetia and Rome, the capital. In 1861 Cavour died but Victor Emmanuel, as shown above, kept up the policy of gradually absorbing these states into the new kingdom. By the treaty

with Prussia in 1866 at the close of the Seven Weeks War, Venetia was joined with the other states of Italy. A French army under Napoleon III kept the Pope in possession of Rome. In 1867 Garibaldi had marched upon the city. Later, however, his army was driven out through the instrumentality of Napoleon III. At the time of the Franco-Prussian war the French army was taken from Rome and Victor Emmanuel II took possession of that city and it became the capital of the new Italy. Italian unification had been achieved.

"Look back for one instant on the road that we have come, on the steps by which the goal has been attained. See the Italy of the ante-Napoleonic days, hopeless, inert, benumbed; without one generous impulse, without one hope, without one thought of the possibility of better things to come. See the Italy of 1815, moulded by the whims of the Viennese diplomatists; moulded on the effete and worn-out principles of the hardened, faithless eighteenth century; divided, dismembered, distraught; its peoples bandied to and fro; its provinces distributed; here an Austrian, there a Bourbon, but all equally degraded beneath the ignoble yoke of alien tyranny. Then look on Italy in the thirty years' agony before the year of revolution; her noblest sons in exile; her bravest patriots fretting out their souls in Austrian dungeons; her poets silenced and her art in chains. See the brief but splendid awakening of 1848; Italy free; Italy at one when 'the war cry rang from Alp to Etna;' when 'her sons knew they were happy to have looked on her, and felt it beautiful to die for her.'"[2] Although unification of Italy had succeeded certain problems were still left. The territories of Trentino, Trieste, and Tyrol still belonged to Austria. These territories formed what came to be known as "*Italia Irridenta*," that is to say, Unredeemed Italy. It became the hope of all Italians since 1871 to see at some time this territory adjoined to Italy. It was this hope, for one reason, that made it join the allies in the great war. Another territory in which a large portion of the population was Italian was the territory along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. This resulted in the question of Fiume at the peace conference. To-day, it might be said, Italy is unified.

Problems after 1871.

There are several problems which Italy had to meet following 1871. One of the greatest of these problems was the difference in nationality especially between north and the south. Another was the economic and social problem. Italy is not materially a wealthy country. It has no coal and iron. A great part of its southern territory from an agricultural viewpoint is poor. The wars which were fought in Italy to bring about unification left a

[2] Marriott, Makers of Modern Italy, 77.

great national debt. The result has been that there is a great deal of poverty and ignorance. Concomitant with this fact has been the attempt of the government of Italy since 1871 to make Italy a great power. To become a great power it was necessary, according to the prevailing ideas, for Italy to have colonies, and hence to have a large army and navy. The natural colony of Italy was Tunis. However, due to the machinations of Bismarck this became in 1881 a French possession. This greatly antagonized the Italians against France and resulted in Italy becoming a part of the famous Triple Alliance of Bismarck in 1882. As a result of this dream of national aggrandizement, Italy attempted to gain colonies in Abyssinia south of Egypt. This led to the disastrous war with Abyssinia at great cost. In 1911 Italy made war upon Turkey and obtained Tripoli, a Turkish colony. Burdensome taxation resulted from these wars. The country was not wealthy enough to bear the cost. As a result of the poverty of the population emigration has taken place in Italy on a great scale. To-day there are over four million people born of Italian parentage in South America. From one hundred fifty to two hundred fifty thousand have emigrated from the northern colonies to France, Germany, and Tunis, and there has been a very large emigration to the United States as a result of the demand for unskilled labor in this great industrial country. In 1900 it was estimated that three and a half millions of Italians were living abroad. The effects of emigration have been both good and bad. The good result has been the enlargement of trade and increase of wealth as a result of the money sent by emigrants from foreign lands. Another result of the poor social and economic conditions has been the growth of socialism. In 1897 the Socialists had 35,000 votes. In 1913 this number had increased to 1,000,000. In that year they had from forty-one to seventy-nine members in the Italian parliament. The Socialists to-day are divided as in most European countries into two groups, the moderate or reformed group and the more radical or syndicalists. The more moderate socialists stand for certain social reforms. Among these are minimum wage, social insurance, strong income and inheritance taxes, universal suffrage, and the nationalization of roads and mines. This group aims to accomplish its ends by means of the ballot. The more radical group hopes to accomplish its ends by revolutionary means. Socialism in Italy, unlike in most European countries, has had a great hold upon the agricultural laborers.

The recent war witnessed a revival of national feeling. This was shown in the hope of the Italians, as formerly stated, to regain their lost provinces. Italy to-day is divided between those who are imper-

ialistically inclined who wish for Italy greater expansion in the Adriatic in Africa and in Asia and those more democratically inclined who see that the hope of Italy lies in internal development. As in Germany, the lateness of Italian unification; the fact that Italy became a colonial power later than some of the other powers of Europe; are the reason for the extreme attitude of some of its imperialists. Let us hope that the prophecy of Mazzini speaking to his young Italians may prove true: "The map of Europe will be remade; the countries of the peoples will arise, defined by the voice of the free, upon the ruins of the countries of kings and privileged castes. Between these countries there will be harmony and brotherhood—, then each of you, strong in the affections and aid of many millions of men speaking the same language and educated in the same historic tradition, may hope by your personal attitude to benefit the whole of humanity".

Effect of the Recent War.

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CHAPTER VII

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

THE foundations of modern France were laid during the great Revolution of 1789 and the era of Napoleon which followed the Revolution. During the internal struggle of the Revolution the great principles of liberty, equality of privilege and the sovereignty of the people were burned into the very soul of the nation and became its watchword. The failure to form a Republic, because of the great obstacles of the old régime and lack of experience, made inevitable the era of Napoleon.

Introduction.

The period of Napoleon accomplished a great deal for the French. First of all it gave them the political experience that is so necessary to the people in a republic; for, however arbitrary Napoleon's government became, he was careful to safeguard the political machinery by which France gained her experience for future self-government. In the second place, Napoleon welded the people into a nation. The preceding decade and more of warfare with all Europe had made the nation comprehend its own solidarity, a unity which has been the greatest moving principle possible in modern France. Napoleon was further responsible for the recreation of the greater part of the machinery of government that had been destroyed in the Revolution. Under him, France was given a modern code of laws, a modern system of central and local administration, a modern view of the relation of religion to the state, and above all, the safeguarding of the social and economic gains of the Revolution until they became the basis of her modern life.

In the minds of Frenchmen, the overthrow of Napoleon did not even cloud the glories and achievements of the earlier period. Necessity might reëstablish the Bourbon dynasty in the person of Louis XVIII, but the old order was gone and the new order was entrenched so firmly as to be immovable. Through the various difficulties of the half century from the fall of Napoleon to the establishment of the present Republic of France, the nation never faltered in its progress toward democracy. Bourbon and Orleans gave way before this demand of the nation and at last the third Napoleon paid for his

ambitions by the loss of position and power; and France, though she had to suffer the punishment for Napoleon's ambitions, yet realized her ideal and established the second great Republic in the modern development of democracy.

The Founding of the Republic.

The third French Republic was ushered in with war. The insane but persistent idea that Napoleon III must imitate Napoleon I in his conquests, broke forth in the desire of France to establish its boundaries on the Rhine. War with Germany was the result. When the news of the French defeat at Sedan came to Paris, the opponents of the Empire, Republicans and Constitutional Monarchists on the one hand, and Radicals on the other, temporarily joined forces to establish the Republic. After the siege and surrender of Paris, the city, stung to madness by its suffering and by the indifference and insults of the conservative Assembly sitting at Bordeaux,[1] broke out in insurrection. The revolt was not socialistic but was the act of the Commune which had played so active a part in the earlier revolutionary days. But Thiers, elected provisional president, made no compromise with the revolutionists, and the Republic was founded upon civil war which recognized no quarter and which cost France 20,000 lives and a great host imprisoned and transported.

With peace and order restored, France bravely set herself to the task of reorganizing her government and building up her industry. Railroads, bridges, and public buildings were rebuilt, commerce and industry were encouraged, and a development began which did not cease until August of 1914. In 1878 the International Exposition in Paris proved how little the nation had really suffered from her set-back in 1870 and how ready she was to take a place again among the ranks of the Great Powers. Moreover, the swiftness and ease with which France raised the funds among her own people to pay off the five billions ($1,000,000,000) of indemnity imposed by Germany was not only a tribute to her swiftness of recovery from the war but also a tribute to the Revolution and its work. The serfs of the pre-revolutionary period were the sturdy peasants who purchased the government bonds with their small but appreciable savings. So also the reorganization of the army, with the expenditure which it entailed, made clear to Europe that France was not disheartened and had no intention of standing still or of receding from her former position among the first Powers of Europe.

[1] The Assembly chosen after the proclamation of the Republic began its sittings in Bordeaux while the Germans were still investing Paris. The Assembly voted to remove the capital from Paris to Versailles. Debts and rents were made immediately payable, the small pay of the national guard was withdrawn and Paris was not spared the triumphal entry of the German Troops.

When the first necessary work of reconstituting the standing and economic life of the nation had been accomplished, the Assembly took up the task of establishing the central government. This body, chosen in 1870 in the interests of peace, was strongly monarchical. The Republicans, though in a minority, were able to control because of the disagreements of the three monarchical groups. Of these three, the Imperial party was weak and discredited by the war. The Bourbon party, looking to the leadership of the Count of Chambord, the grandson of Charles X, wished to restore the old monarchy, while the Orleanists, supported by the middle class monarchists and looking to the Count of Paris, a grandson of Louis Philippe, aimed at a constitutional monarchy. The important point was that no one of the three parties was strong enough to control the government and no basis of agreement between the factions could be found. To give time for negotiation, Thiers was appointed by the Assembly as head of the Executive Power subject to the authority of the Assembly. The Assembly voted to constitute itself a constituent assembly and when Thiers became tired of monarchist intrigues, they forced his resignation and in 1873 elected Marshal MacMahon president for a term of seven years.

The Central Government.

In 1875 the two Constitutional laws were passed which gave form and content to the present government of France. It was agreed by a plurality of one vote that the head of the state should be called President of the Republic. The constitution provided for the three departments of government, an executive with a responsible ministry, an assembly chosen by direct universal suffrage.[2] The president is chosen by the two houses for some years and is eligible for re-election.[3] He is irresponsible, a kind of an elected English king. He appoints his own ministry and may dissolve the Assembly with the concurrence of the Senate. He may initiate laws and he appoints all civil and military officers; but as he must exercise all his powers only in conjunction with his ministers, he acts usually on their initiative, rarely on his own.

The members of the Assembly are chosen by universal suffrage for four years and now are elected in separate districts, much as we choose our congressmen, the electors voting for only one representative. If a representative does not receive a *majority* of the votes cast, a new election is held two weeks later. The Senators are chosen for nine years and are renewable by thirds each three years. They are

[2] The Judiciary is non-political and was not changed by the Constitution of 1875.

[3] Re-election has occurred only once; Grevy was re-elected in 1886.

elected in each department by an electoral college made up of the assemblymen of the department, the councillors of the department and those of the arondissement, and delegates from the town councils. They are thus indirectly elected and represent the departments as our senators represent the states. There were 602 members of the chamber deputies in 1914 and 300 senators.

The cabinet or council of ministers was composed of 12 members in 1914 with a varying number of under secretaries of state appointed by the president but responsible chiefly to the Chamber of deputies. Any member of Parliament may question a minister upon any subject and an adverse vote of Parliament upon important questions causes the resignation of the ministry. It may be said that the ministry is a joint committee of the two Houses, revocable at will. In other words, the Executive is absolutely subordinated to the Legislature.[4]

Before one condemns the French Republic for instability because of its many changes of ministry, it is well to survey the circumstances of its formation and to examine something of the meaning of its workings. First of all, it was essentially a compromise in which the Republican element had its way, though compromises were largely effected by the monarchist group. This explains the apparent weakness and ineffectiveness of the Executive. It was originally planned to leave this branch of government vague and indefinite to make way for the future monarchy. MacMahon had used his powers effectively and the great fear of the Republican conquerors led them to restrict at every point the actual power of the executive in order that the Assembly chosen by the people might control the government at all times. It was in reality but the culmination and logical conclusion of the democratic spirit which, originating in the revolution, now came into its own as the guiding force of the Nation. This will be better understood if one is able to view the many changes of the ministry as being due to a weak government not so much as to an unstable party organization. Throughout the period, the democracy of France has placidly remained indifferent to party bickerings, content that whatever happens to the party in power the republican form of government and the general policy of the state is safe [5].

In local government the 3rd Republic practically accepted the system worked out under Napoleon and retained after his overthrow. In general the system was a mixed one of central and local control. Each department was governed by a prefect appointed by

[4] Guerrard, French Civilization in the 19th Century, pp. 162-163.

[5] As a general rule when a ministry is overthrown in France a new Premier is chosen and most of the old ministry resume their places in the new body.

the central authority whose power was shared by a council chosen for six years by the regular suffrage. The eighty-six departments are subdivided into arondissements under a sub-prefect and locally elected councils. Under the Republic the power of the councils was somewhat increased, though the central government retains the right to veto legislation of the local councils. The French system of local administration is perhaps one of the most centralized in Europe, but on the whole it has worked well and it emphasizes the unity of the nation in a way which we can hardly understand in the United States.[6]

Local Government in France.

Among the problems of the Republic one of the most perplexing to American readers is the organization and working of party machinery. Since 1875 there has been but little danger of a return to monarchy, so while the monarchists have been rather carefully watched, there has been little incentive for keeping Republicans united. In a general way there are conservative and liberal Republican groups in France, but the lines are not carefully drawn. These two groups occupy the right and left center of the assembly hall. To the right of the conservative Republicans is a clerical group which recognizes the Republic and is even radical on some questions, but whose main object has been to reconcile the church and the Republic. Still further to the left sit the Socialist party, who repudiated Millerand and Briand because they became members of the ministry and who are prepared to oppose the government but who accept no place in administration. In 1914 this party polled more than a million votes and elected 102 deputies. The war has somewhat broken up the Socialist party and some of its elements have tended to act with the radical socialist in supporting the government on many questions.

Party Organization.

The result of these numerous party differences has been that no one party has been able to control the government. Hence, there has developed the *bloc* system by which a group of parties unite upon some program and form a coälition ministry. Of course the great difficulty of keeping such groups united upon the many questions which must face a ministry, has been the cause of the frequent changes of ministry, which have led to the charge that France has been unable to establish a stable government. This latter observation is not borne out by a study of modern France. The instability of ministries has not changed the current of French life or modified the course of government. Unlike the English system, a break up of a cabinet is generally followed by a return of most of the ministers; rarely by a

[6] See Hayes, *ibid.*, pp. 336-7, for a somewhat detailed account.

new election. Only the members representing the group who disagree on a particular question retire and some new combination is made. ". . . A change of ministry in France usually operates only to stress or weaken the emphasis upon one part of the program outlined by the government and actually leaves most under officials of the various great state departments unchanged. . ." And it is obvious from a survey of French history under the 3rd Republic that fifty changes of ministry have not prevented a steady consistent development of public policies. In every important particular—anticlericalism,[7] democratizing the army, promotion of colonialism and of protection, internal betterment of agriculture, industry and commerce, pursuit of a foreign policy. . . . ministerial changes have meant changes of person and not of policies.[8] France has thus worked out a party system which, while very different from ours, has served her purposes effectively and has given even greater variety and expression to differences of political opinion than ours has.

For a period of nearly twenty years France busied herself in establishing policies and strengthening both the domestic and foreign relations of the state. The army was put on a firm footing and better organized, though the period of service was cut from five years to three, and eventually to two years. The navy was strengthened, docks were built, harbors were deepened. Commerce and industry were encouraged, and France undertook the establishment of a colonial policy to develop an empire which would replace the territories lost in 1870. A national system of education was developed. Jules Ferry as minister of education and as prime minister advocated and established a plan of compulsory, free, and secular education. Normal schools were organized and secondary schools for women were established. Education was taken from the church and the state set itself to the task of providing schools for every child in France, with the splendid result that in 1914, illiteracy was practically negligible. The educational budget has been multiplied under the Republic fourteen times and by 1910 it had reached the sum of 281,000,000 francs. The Republic has cause to be proud of her educational system.

Political Development.

During the two decades previous to 1900, France experienced two severe crises in her political history. The first of these had as a background the growth of a sentiment of revenge against Germany for the war of 1870 which was steadily cultivated by patriotic

[7] Anticlericalism means opposed to the church. It is the attempt to separate church from the state.

[8] Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, II: 362.

societies and literary men. This development produced a group who were dissatisfied with the Republic because of its peace loving attitude, and who were greatly strengthened by two political scandals, in 1887 and 1888, which greatly discredited the Republican government. The first was of little real consequence. The son-in-law of President Grévy was charged with trafficking in the bestowal of decorations. The charge was proved and Grévy, although entirely innocent, was forced to resign. The next year the Panama scandal stirred up much bitter feeling in France. Ferdinand de Lesseps, the builder of the Suez Canal, organized a company to build a canal at Panama. In order to get the support of the government, shares of stock, money for elections, and opportunities for gain in furnishing supplies were bestowed very generally upon members of the administration, even upon cabinet officers. Discovery of this state of affairs greatly discredited the government and unfortunately in 1888 there appeared a man who was ready to take advantage of the situation. This man, General Boulanger, was an army officer of some merit who formed the opinion that reforms were needed in order to strengthen the executive branch of government. He was encouraged by the monarchists, who hoped to use him, and by the populace who were disgusted with the disclosures of the past two years. He was elected to the chamber from many districts [8] and was lionized by the people. At last the Senate ordered Boulanger to appear for trial on a charge of treason and he fled from the country, later committing suicide. The excitement soon died away and the affair somewhat further discredited the monarchists while bringing no real harm to the Republic.

The First Political Crisis.

The second crisis appeared in 1894-1906 and centered about an effort on the part of the Royalists to establish the supremacy of the army over the civil authorities which they hoped would enable them to carry out their long desired wish to reëstablish the monarchy. In 1894 Dreyfus, a captain of artillery, was convicted by court martial of selling military secrets to Germany. He was publicly disgraced and was sentenced for life to penal servitude on Devils Island off French Guiana. Very soon, however, the sentence was questioned by Colonel Picquart, a young officer who had entered the Intelligence Bureau and had examined the documents upon which the guilt of Dreyfus was based. This discovery was made

The Dreyfus Affair.

[8] From 1870 to 1889 France elected deputies by departments, each elector voting for all the deputies from the department (scrutin de liste). After 1889 this was changed so that each deputy was chosen from and by his own district (scrutin d'Arrondisement).

public and soon France was divided into two camps, the one opposing, the other defending, Dreyfus. Colonel Picquart was ordered to the Colonies and Colonel Henry was sent to the Intelligence Bureau in his place. Eventually the matter took a serious turn. Colonel Henry committed suicide, after confessing to the forging of one of the principal documents in the case, a forgery which he declared was committed in the interests of the country. Soon after, another officer, Major Esterhazy, confessed to the authorship of another one of the documents and fled to England. In 1899 President Faure died suddenly and his successor Loubet decided to go to the bottom of the case. After a new military trial in which he was again convicted, Dreyfus was pardoned and in 1906 the Court of Cessation completely exonerated him, restoring to him his rank, and giving to him the Legion of Honor. The military men who participated in the conviction of Dreyfus were punished and the affair was legally closed.

The real significance of the Dreyfus matter slowly came to light during the struggle. It was found that the Royalist sympathizers controlled the army and had been using it to further their ends. When this became clear, in 1899, a coalition of Republicans formed a *bloc* which pledged itself to support the Republican cause. Waldek-Rousseau became premier and the Socialist Radical, Millerand, entered the cabinet. Their first work was to destroy the conservative control of the army and to make it a real arm of the Republic, while compulsory service was limited in 1905 to two years.

Church and State.

The Dreyfus affair had other results. The church had arrayed itself on the side of the anti-Dreyfusites and as a result the church question was taken up by the government. Since 1789 the church had opposed the Republic. In 1870 she opposed its reformation and was regarded by the Republicans, led by Gambetta, as an enemy of the state. In 1892, Pope Leo XIII attempted to break down this hostility but failed, though there was organized a party of churchmen who worked in the interests of the Republic. When the churchmen joined the Royalists the state felt forced to act. It should be said that the formation of the *bloc* was the union of all parties opposed to the Catholics so that from 1899 to 1913 the anticlerical policy of the government has been consistently led by Waldek-Rousseau, Millerand, Briand, Clemenceau, Viviani, and Combes.

The first attack was made upon the monastic orders who were engaged in the work of education and charity. In 1901 the *Associations* [9] law was passed requiring all *associations* to secure authorization by the state on pain of dissolution and the confiscation of

[9] Associations were the Monastic Orders.

their property. As a result, practically all the religious orders in France were suppressed, and, in the case of religious orders engaged in teaching, the government was unusually severe in order to destroy all religious control over education.

This law was followed by an act decreeing the separation of church and state which became law in 1905. It was the result of a diplomatic incident, in which the pope protested against a visit of the French President to the King of Italy as an insult to the papacy since Italy had despoiled the church. The act abrogated the Concordat of 1801 [10] and declared that the state recognized no religion as the religion of the state. It demanded that all church properties be placed in the hands of public worship societies to be used by all religious sects, or confiscated them to the uses of the state. In 1907 an amendment provided that contracts might be entered into between the local religious authorities and the local government for the use of the churches. Clemenceau, then prime minister, carried out the law so amended. Thus, the church and state in France were separated and, as Briand suggested, the state became *non*-religious, not *anti*-religious, friendly to all sects but favoring none to the exclusion of the rest.

Social Development and Legislation in France.

The French Revolution made possible a nation of small landed proprietors. If the Bourgeois, or middle class, reaped the fruits of the revolution in government they shared its fruits in property. All classes viewed the revolution as establishing firmly the principle of private property and saw in this principle one of the greatest gains of the revolution. France became unique among the larger states of Europe. Down to 1914 the majority of the nation secured their living from the soil. The great serf body of feudal France became the real backbone of modern France. In 1915 it was this group which purchased immunity from the foreign armies and again in 1870 the small land owners and peasants of the soil came forward at the call of the Republic and subscribed many times over the loan which purchased the freedom of French soil from the German armies of Bismarck.

Not only has the French peasant thus purchased the integrity of French soil but he has largely furnished the balance to French national development. Only slowly did the Bourgeois find that he could trust this ally and thus unite with him, by the use of the universal ballot, in guiding the destiny of France. It must be noticed, however, that after the first great upheaval, the peasant was willing to contribute more than he received for he was content in

[10] Concordat of 1801 was the treaty between Napoleon and the Roman church which remained in force until 1905.

the main to leave the reins of government in the hands of the middle class, a class recruited less from the peasantry than from the laboring class.

On the other hand, the laborer, too, received his reward in 1789. The destruction of the guild made every workmen his own master. Since inventions had scarcely affected France, there was equality in labor and the rewards of labor. Thus during the revolutionary period the gains of laborer and peasant proprietor were real and abiding. The period of disaster, 1793-1794, was clearly not the result of the belief that relief was not to be substantial, but rather of the fear that it would be snatched away by foreign intervention and that the Bourgeois would compromise the revolution. The great success of Napoleon in France was due to his careful recognition of the gain that the peasantry and laborer had made and to the fact that they cared little for the loss of political privilege either for themselves or for the middle class.

With the fall of Napoleon and the return of peace, came the Industrial Revolution, at once the great enemy and the benefactor of the working classes. With its introduction started the discontent of the laboring class. Production on a large scale demanded capital, and industry came to be a partnership of capital and labor. It was not a real partnership however, because with the strangely developed belief in the Laissez faire doctrine [11] the capitalist controlled business and the laborer lost his freedom. In the period following the revolution the laborer saw so clearly the gains that had been made by the destruction of the associations, and guilds, that had curbed his freedom, that the early republic carefully forbade all associations of labor or industry. In the struggle for freedom under the new régime the laborer had to begin at the bottom, where he found little sympathy from Bourgeois or landed peasant.

It had been the great desire of the Republic to further the material prosperity of the nation. While the progress of agriculture had been remarkable, increasing from six billions of francs in 1860 to over eleven billions in 1913, the increase in industry was even more remarkable.[12]

The treaty of Frankfort with Germany imposed the most favored nation clause upon France. This was however repudiated in 1890, and a new tariff law passed in 1892 protected both industry and agriculture. This tariff has greatly strengthened the industries of the country and her colonial policy has furthered the work very mater-

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[11] Laissez faire is the policy of letting industry take care of itself The state refused to interfere between employer and laborer.

[12] Hayes, *supra*, p. 347.

ially.[13] But, materially, the capitalist has been aided rather than the laborer, and this new discontent has grown up, due to the subjection of labor to the new master. Not until 1870 did the labor movement in France receive any material aid from the government in its struggle with capital. In 1884 the law which was known as the "charter of liberties" was passed and gave the workman freedom to organize associations and to strike. The wholeheartedness with which labor supported the Republic in the Dreyfus affair forced the state to assume a new attitude toward the demands of labor. A part of the Socialist labor group definitely adopted an opportunist policy,[14] and joined the government in order to secure such reforms as were possible. Under this *bloc* the government pledged itself not to limit its activity to mere political reform but to embark upon the wider sea of social reform.

Since 1892 France has enacted notable legislation in the social field. This legislation covers a wide scope. It fixed and shortened the hours of work for men, women, and children. A workmen's compensation act was passed in 1898, an old age pension act in 1905, and a more effective act in 1910. Medical aid has been given the worker, and safety appliances established, while a whole series of acts have modified and humanized the law, both civil and criminal. When the war opened in 1914 it seemed assured that France was pledged to follow the new course so lately adopted until a real industrial democracy had been established such as was aimed at by the revolution of 1789.

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[13] In 1871 the total horse power of engines in industry was 316,000, in 1907 it was 2,474,000. The production of coal and iron was increased from 1871-1912 by 3½ and 10 respectively, while transportation had grown by 3 times and the foreign trade increased by a like amount. (See Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary Europe, notes to pp. 244-246.)

[14] Jean Jaurès was the author of this new idea which was to enter politics and secure the aid of the state whenever possible.

CHAPTER VIII

NATIONALITY AND INTERSTATE RELATIONS

A VERY brief study of the growth of nations during the nineteenth century makes it clear that nationality has become one of the most persistent agencies in the development of the modern state.[1] For a century nationality and democracy have been gradually assuming the control of state affairs. At the outbreak of the war of 1914, only Germany, Austria and Russia had successfully resisted democracy, but all of them recognized the value of nationality and had invoked its aid in furthering their interests. England, on the other hand, which had begun the expression of its national life under the form of the absolute monarchy, had gradually transformed that monarchy into the modern democracy, while the other states of western Europe had either followed her lead or had changed their governments into republics after the policy of the United States.

Nationality in Europe.

Very early in the war the fact was discovered that the struggle was one of democracy against autocracy. Just as soon, however, the Western Allies proclaimed it a struggle for justice to the small nationality. The world had known of the suppression of nationality in central and eastern Europe but not until the war and the invasion of Belgium by Germany, did it begin to be clear that the nation which refused to respect the small nationalities and had taken Alsace-Lorraine from France and the Danish part of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, was the same state which refused to respect the integrity of Belgium.

Democracy versus Autocracy.

Since President Wilson voiced his strong appeal to the world to make secure what had been gained for democracy, we have somewhat forgotten that before that appeal was made the Western Allies had gone on record as wishing to make safe and possible the continued growth of the smaller nationalities. This interest in the small state and this desire to give it justice is the first general expression of such a sympathy that Europe has displayed. So, also, the recent peace treaty marks the first attempt at peace which has consciously tried to do justice to the weaker states.

Attitude of Allies toward Smaller Nationalities.

The new attitude toward nationality makes it necessary that we study carefully this modern form of the state. It must be something

[1] See Part IV, chap. I.

better than the old state, if it is to succeed, but it must not let go any of the good features of the older form. First of all, it seems clear that we should strip the national state of that old characteristic which it inherited from its predecessor; namely, secret diplomacy. President Wilson attacked this old characteristic in no uncertain terms and the Peace Congress has accepted his viewpoint by annulling all secret treaties made prior to the calling of the Peace Congress and by making provisions in the League of Nations for safeguarding the future against this old evil of secret alliance. State documents will still be guarded, though less absolutely than in the past and negotiations will, like the recent peace negotiations, be carried on with as little publicity as possible. The future national state will gladly acquiesce, however, in throwing off this old garb of secrecy which has always been a factor that created distrust and fear in other states.

Necessity for Study of Nationality.

Then, again, the new national state must lay aside the inherited theory that the good of the state warrants the breaking of promises to other states and makes justifiable any international action which seems to benefit one's own state. Germany especially, in characterizing her treaties with Belgium as scraps of paper, has made the nations realize the need of a change in the policy of the national state. In putting her problem so boldly, she has unwittingly forced the public conscience to demand the laying aside of the old theory. The national state in the future must recognize its obligations even when they may seem opposed to its own best interests, just as an individual accepts an obligation which he has incurred, although he knows it works a disadvantage to him.

Internationalism.

On the side of constructive thinking, the new national state should guard against the tendency to change its policy without due consideration. There has always been a tendency to use the public press of all countries to stir up public sentiment for or against policies dictated by selfish personal interests, instead of using it in the interests of sane thinking about a policy of international administration. We must not lose sight of the fact that this tendency will persist in spite of the attempts that have been made by statesmen to take the people into their confidence by making public the facts and conditions of foreign relations. There is needed a broader patriotism, more unselfishness, and less of the spirit of *my country right or wrong* pervading our public press. The press must consistently refuse to make party issues of international relations and the people must see that the press' attitude will depend largely upon them. So long as the people do not resent a narrow party position on the part of the press in international

matters, such an attitude will continue to endanger our future peace. The people have taken over from the king and from the aristocracy the responsibility for the direction of the state and their most serious problem is the cultivation of an intelligent, judicious spirit in the management of affairs, by whatever method they continue to direct these policies.

The nation need have no fear of this larger problem of international relations. The questions at issue are not essentially of a different nature from those of internal relationships. Once we recognize that there can never be a basis for defending wrong in our relations with other peoples any more than among ourselves, and once we begin to study foreign relations in the light of their duties as well as their privileges, the most important issues will have been grasped and foreign affairs will be seen to be only the wider application of the same principles of justice and integrity that we have been using in our internal relations.

The United States and Internationalism.

Because of its position and recent origin the United States has made a real contribution to a broader point of view through its welcome to the peoples of all lands who wish to become part and parcel of its nationality. "The Republic of the United States is in a fact a nation of immigrants, a nation of Aliens. All have made the great migration, all have come hither from other parts of the earth. The only difference among Americans is that some came earlier while others came later—indeed, as it were, yesterday—to these shores. The only aboriginal American is the Indian. This historical fact should be forever borne in mind. We come hither first or last, across the ocean and from the ends of the earth."[2]

American nationality is none the less strong and vigorous because of this mixture of populations. There have been peoples from all countries who have not become one with us, but the great majority of immigrants of all nationalities have become strongly American. This fact needs greater appreciation and our efforts toward this Americanization must be intelligently strengthened.

"What is the duty of foreign-born American citizens? First, to learn the English language and to prefer it to all other tongues on the face of the earth. That tongue comes in the splendor of a June day, it breaks over life like a June sunrise, with an atmosphere, tone, beauty and power for which Americans must ever be unapproachable. Let no American citizen hug his foreign tongue, go into a closet with it and

[2] Gorden, George A., The Foreign-Born American Citizen, Quoted in Talbot, Americanization, p. 81.

shut out the light of the great English language from which comes all our ideals as Americans. The very vessel of the Lord it is, in which American freedom is carried, the language of Shakespeare and Milton, the incomparable free man; the language of Bacon and Burke and Washington and Hamilton and Webster and Lincoln. This tongue consecrates the immigrant who would be a citizen; he can never be a citizen of the United States without it. This is the tongue that carries in a unique translation the literature of Israel; the bible is the maker of free peoples. Next, we foreign-born American citizens must read the story of the revolution into our blood. . . . . Learn the lesson of the Revolution. This country will have no hands upon it, from any origin, anywhere outside itself. Learn the lesson of the civil war; the nation that set to work to keep its integrity as a political whole, to keep its integrity as a human whole, to fight as it had done a foreign domination, an evil genius inside its own border. . . .Once again we should store in memory and ponder in clearest conscience and intelligence the great ideas, the great political ideas of America as they are exhibited in Washington, in Hamilton, the Nationalist, and in Jefferson, the state right's patriot; and again in Webster and Calhoun, in Lincoln and the Confederate, and as they issued at last in a true conception of state freedom in a sisterhood of states that constitutes a great nation."[3] But when America has succeeded in making Americans of these foreign born peoples, she has done more than merely create another nation. The nation thus made carries in it the elements of a better understanding of other nations.

"The failure of the melting pot far from closing the great American democratic experiment means that it has only just begun. Whatever American nationalism turns out to be we see already that it will have a color richer and more exciting than our ideal has hitherto encompassed. In a world that has dreamed of internationalism, we find that we have all unaware been building up the first international nation. The voices which have cried for a tight and jealous nationalism of the European pattern are failing. From that ideal, however valiantly and disinterestedly it has been set for us, time and tendency have moved us further and further away. What we have achieved has been rather a cosmopolitan federation of national colonies, of foreign cultures, from whom the string of devastating competition has been removed. America is already the world-federation in miniature, the continent where for the first time in history has been achieved that miracle of hope, the peaceful living side by side, with

[3] Gordon, George A. The Foreign-Born Citizen, from Talbot, Americanization, pp. 85-87.

character substantially preserved, of the most heterogeneous peoples under the sun. Nowhere else has such contiguity been anything but the breeder of misery. Here, notwithstanding our tragic failures of adjustment, the outlines are already too clear not to give us a new vision and a new orientation of the American mind in the world."[4]

Our whole problem of immigration is yet to be solved. May it not be possible that America, in continuing to be generous as in the past, and perhaps in being less careless than in the past, in the treatment of her immigrant population, may succeed yet by education in producing a real American, without impressing upon him a stereotyped form which would destroy at least a part of the heritage which the emigrant has brought to America? May this not be one of America's contributions to the problem of nationality, a contribution that shall produce a nationality as definite and real as any in the old world, but so broad minded and spiritualized that it can easily and naturally take the additional step toward internationalism? Such a contribution would go farther toward maintaining peace than all the Peace Leagues that can be conceived.

There is also need of reconstructive thinking with respect to the economic aspect of nationality.[5] The smaller states of Europe have been forced by natural conditions to recognize the limits of their national development. Hemmed in by other states, too weak to be ambitious beyond their own state lines, they have calmly developed their industries with an intensity that gives praise to their efforts; and beyond that they have looked for relief to emigration. The large states must follow this teaching of the small state and refuse to use their power for their own ends if in using this power they weaken other nationalities. Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Holland have shown the right relationship between nationality and interstate relations by developing a strong nationality without attacking other peoples. If the great concern and supreme end of democracy is to secure justice, the national democratic state must develop a morality and a sense of justice for the state as well as for the individual that will recognize no morality and no justice in any attempt of a state to develop its own nationality at the expense of another nationality. This idea is well expressed by Bainbridge Colby in an address before the Academy of Political Science in New York.[6]

"The supreme concern of mankind is justice. This is the aspira-

[4] Bourne, Randolph S. Trans-national America, Atlantic Monthly, July 1916, from Speare and Norris, World War Issues and Ideals, pp. 347-348.

[5] See Part IV, Chapter III for a full discussion of Imperialism.

[6] The Democratic Ideal in International Relationships—in Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, July 1917.

tion of democracy, not only in its internal but in its international relations. Justice not only demanded for ourselves but freely accorded to others. This is the keynote of President Wilson's epoch-making appeal to the nations of the world. This immortal address constitutes not only a satisfactory declaration of the principles for which we entered the Great War, but it is the latest and most authentic expression of the spirit of democracy. The inviolability of treaties, respect for nationality, the right of development along self-evolved and national lines, obedience to the promptings of humanity, in other words, international justice—these are the salients of his definition of democracy's aims and of the democratic ideal in international relations.

"But nations are animated not only by theories but by conditions. And it is well for us to remember that a nobly defined ideal does not necessarily meet or vanquish a robust and persistent condition. The issue of the Great War is familiarly defined as between autocracy or militarism on the one hand, and democracy on the other. But militarism or even autocracy, odious as they are, are only different lines of approach to, or treatment of, underlying conditions in the world.

"I think it may fairly be said that the ailment which afflicts the world is economic and not exclusively political. The trouble with the highly industrialized nations of the temperate zone is that they cannot produce what they need to consume, and they cannot consume what they need to produce. The populations of the industrial nations are steadily growing. The nations of western Europe in a century have doubled their population. Germany is adding a million per annum to her population, and the United States even more. The nations of western Europe cannot produce the means required for their subsistence. They have not the agricultural basis which yields them their requirements in food and raw materials. These indispensables of national life must be obtained beyond their borders. They must, in other words, be purchased, and the means necessary to the purchase are manufactured products, which must greatly exceed in amount what the domestic market of the producing nation can absorb. From this universal need of nations, *i.e.*, food and raw materials on the one hand, and a market for products on the other, arises the value of colonial possessions, particularly in the unexploited and highly productive regions in the tropics and the Orient.

"These regions are in large part peopled by nations whose titles to the lands they hold are unassailable, yet the people are lacking either in industry or ambition, and the productive possibilities of their lands are incapable of realization unless the popular energies are marshaled and directed and even supplemented by the more progres-

sive and colonizing nations. The world needs their produce, the life of Europe demands their raw materials, and mere rights of nations can with difficulty make a stand against necessities that are so imperious. There has thus arisen an economic imperialism, of which strange to say, the most democratic of nations are the most conspicuous examples. England throughout the world, France in Africa and the East, are deeply conscious of the relation to their industrial vigor of colonial expansion.

"Economic advantage seems to follow in the wake of political control. It is the mother country which builds the railroads in the colonies, controls port privileges, fixes tariffs, and secures to her nationals the out-distancing advantages which make alien competition impossible. Theoretically this may not be true, but in practice it is uniformly true. Of Algeria's exportations seventy-nine per cent. are to France, and eighty-five per cent. of her imports come from France.

"As the industrial nation grows in population, the pressure upon her means of sustenance increases, her need of raw materials grows greater, and she turns a ranging eye throughout the world for the means of satisfying this internal pressure.

"Here is the motive of wars, here is the menace to world peace. And it is in reference to this condition, prevalent throughout the world, that we must determine the attitude of democracy in its international relations.

"This economic pressure is but beginning to be felt in the United States, but its premonitory symptoms are already seen. It is only a question of time when our complacent sense of security will give way to a realization that our vast agricultural basis is not vast enough to sustain our even vaster industrial development. We shall then feel, if not so acutely as sister nations in the East, at least as truly, the need of expanding markets and enlarged sources of raw materials, if not of food.

"The spiritual aims of democracy, so perfectly defined by the President, will have to encounter the imperious economic necessities which drive all nations, which cannot be stayed, and which refuse to be silenced. The freedom of the seas, respect for international boundaries, observance of treaties, obedience to international law, recognition of the dictates of humanity—in short, all the aims which animate America and her allies in this great war, do not in and of themselves contain the promise of a complete tranquilization of the world. To end wars requires that the sources of international friction should be reached. The repression of barbarism, the punishment of ruthlessness, constitute a sufficient but only an immediate objective

of the world's struggle. It is, of course, the primary undertaking of civilization, and once achieved, our thought and our effort must go forward in aims that are more far reaching. Our goal must be the destruction of the economic root of war—in other words, to establish an economic, as well as a political, internationalism, a community of interest, even if qualified and incomplete, among great nations. The American policy of the open door in colonial administration must find acceptance in the world if mankind is to emerge from the perennial menace of war."

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PART V

CHAPTER I

THE ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

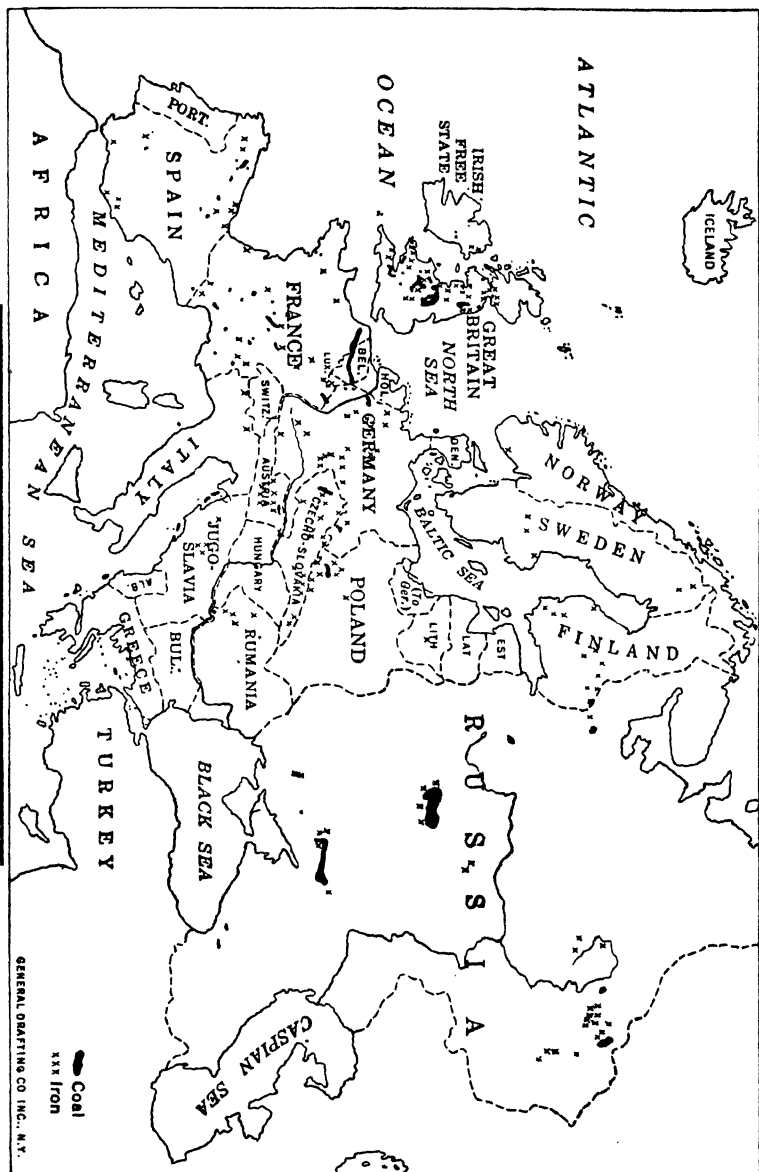
THE French Revolution in one of its aspects stands for individualism as against the community life or manor life of the feudal era. It was a revolt against the idea that men must be chained together in all activities of life; that because one's father was a baker the son must be a baker, and because he is a baker he must follow the methods of bread baking fixed by long established custom.

The Individualism of the French Revolution.

In no relations were class chains so galling as in economic life. Nowhere was the revolt against nobles and clergy so persistent and so determined as in the economic relations of the classes. To the lower classes light came slowly, both as to cause and effect. The slow evolution of industry through the eighteenth century had brought forth a great industrial class, whose development had given rise to discontent with its position, and its discontent was transmitted to the agricultural peasantry.

This creation of a new human force in society was the first definite product of the evolution of industry. Once created, it made the old order impossible. Individualism took the place of the feudal manor with its great lord surrounded by his group of dependent serfs, and a new world was made possible by the social, economic, and political changes in the new situation.

England was the birthplace of the new economic life. Unlike conditions in France, in England the old feudal order quietly and persistently changed until it had largely broken down. The manor system had disappeared, the guilds had largely lost their control. Individualism had already taken hold of economic life and England had emerged into the dawn of a new era. Moreover, the security of an insular position had tended to develop capital and encourage commerce. Her religious liberalism had invited to her shores the most enlightened groups of the Flemish industrial classes. These had, in turn, given an impetus to manufacturing that placed her at the forefront of the industrial and commercial world. England was also blessed with a climate favorable to the production of cloth, for its dampness made for the better handling of the cotton threads. She had, too, in her swift streams an abundance of water power as well as the coal and iron under her soil.

England the Birthplace of New Economic Life.

MAP OF EUROPE SHOWING COAL AND IRON DEPOSITS.

But better than anything else was the enterprise and alertness which had come as the result of the national consciousness which already held England in its embrace. This idea of unity, acting in concert with the social changes which had brought individual initiative, made England the birthplace of our modern economic life. The Napoleonic era fortunately found this new England well established, an England which the continental system of the Great Conqueror failed to destroy. It was an England whose manufactures were to save the state and whose increase of output was made possible by growth of invention and discovery in the period immediately preceding the French Revolution.

In a brief chapter it is impossible to do more than note the fields in which the changes took place, and perhaps suggest something of their importance. As an historian of the last century has expressed it, "Here in England, unheeded by preoccupied diplomats and ministries, a grand alliance of coal, iron, steam, and a whole group of textile industries was being developed, which were to modify Europe more profoundly than the concert of powers, or the settlements which were being made at the Congress of Vienna."

The Alliance in Economic Life.

This alliance produced, first of all, great changes in machinery and made possible the exchange of human power for that of machine power in the manufacture of all classes of products. Under the old system of domestic manufacture, the drawing of the thread was poorly done by hand after the laborious preparation of the cotton, the wool and the flax. This thread was then used in hand weaving. All the members of the household were used but the process was infinitely slow and laborious. With the coming of machinery not only was the product better when completed but it was done many times more rapidly.

Inventions and Their Influence.

It will be enough, perhaps, to enumerate some of the inventions which produced this great revolution in clothmaking and in manufacturing of all kinds. The first important discovery was Kay's "flying shuttle", 1733, by which the shuttle was thrown back and forth by means of a handle, thus accelerating the process of weaving. This was followed in 1765 by Hargreaves' "spinning jenny" which made possible the drawing of eight threads at once. This enabled thread making to keep pace with weaving, and the process was soon developed very much farther and was continued until the spinning machine was able to make a thousand threads at a time infinitely more rapidly than the first jenny made its eight threads. With a start both in thread production and weaving inventions continued. In 1769, Richard Arkwright invented

his "water frame," which consisted of "a series of revolving rollers, rotating at various speeds, which spun cotton thread so firmly that an all cotton cloth could now be made" instead of mixing with the cotton linen, or wool as had formerly been necessary. The water frame as its name suggests was operated by a water wheel instead of by hand. A little later, 1779, the spinning jenny was further developed by Crompton's "mule" which enabled the jenny to make a finer and stronger thread and it was operated by water power which enabled the thread to be made more rapidly. Ten years later this increase in thread making was taken advantage of by the further perfecting of the weaving process through which Cartwright was able to make his machine do the work of four men under the old process.

The work of cloth making and the use of cotton was given its final impetus by Eli Whitney's "cotton gin", 1792, which enabled the seed to be separated from the cotton by machinery so that this new product at once began to supply the bulk of the material for the manufacture of cloth.

In the meantime water power had proved unsatisfactory, for its location was practically fixed and mills had to go to it for the power necessary for manufacturing. This condition was eventually overcome by a series of inventions which finally produced Watt's "steam engine" in 1769. After 1769 it was soon possible to apply the principle of the steam engine to the running of machinery and thus mills and factories could be more advantageously located. With the coming of the steam engine and the machinery of the mills came also a demand for more durable material with which to construct them. In place of the old charcoal furnace with its hand bellows, which can be seen still in many blacksmith shops, there was substituted coal which greatly helped the process. It was not until 1856, however, that the making of steel was standardized by the discovery of the "Bessemer process" of hardening the iron and thus making it durable for use in machinery. With the discoveries of the use of coal and iron two of our most important industries were developed, industries upon which depend the greater part of all our industrial life.

The changes produced by the discovery of the use of steam soon found application in transportation. The steamboat and the locomotive both practically developed before 1850, made possible world trade to replace the narrow trade interests of the earlier period. The revolution in transportation was followed by one in the means of communication, the telegraph, the telephone, the ocean cables by which the world has been brought nearer together than were the people of England in the Middle Ages. The telegraph was perfected by 1850, the Atlantic cable laid in 1866 and the principle of the telephone discovered in 1860.

Thus practically by the middle of the nineteenth century the basis of the great industrial revolution was laid by the discovery of the mechanical means which made it possible. It transformed the mediæval world with its narrow outlook and limited possibilities of wealth into the world we know to-day.

The revolution in manufacture, industry, and intercourse was

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PEASANTS PLOWING IN AUSTRIA.

accompanied by a revolution in agriculture. Here the changes were due to the overthrow of manor life, and the introduction of individualism in farm work, and to the greater demand for food due to the growth of population and the new industrial order. The changes involved here were as far reaching and as important as in the other fields. They were comprised in the changes made in methods of farming and in the tenure of lands.

Revolution in Agriculture.

The discovery of the use of the root crops and of grasses to "rest" the land, was given its greatest impetus by Viscount Townshend, "Turnip Townshend" as he was called because of his devotion to the use of root crops to rest the soil, instead of allowing it to lie fallow one year in three. This discovery made possible the continuous use of the land and thus increased the possible crop one third. Changes were also made by the use of fertilizers, by drilling the seed in place of sowing broadcast, by deeper plowing and pulverizing.

Like changes were made in the development of stock. The improvement of breeds by careful selection soon showed itself in doubling the weight of cattle, sheep, hogs and horses, while the better sheep produced a finer, more valuable wool.

Effect of Revolution upon Land Tenure.

Such changes soon produced important changes in land tenure. The open field system gave way to the enclosed field where the farmer was enabled to work independently of his neighbors. The change, which was very important and necessary, unfortunately was responsible in part for the accumulation of the great landed estates in England which she is now trying to destroy. The industrial revolution destroyed the yeoman class but the enclosure was only one of the means by which this was effected. The development of the factory system, which destroyed home manufacture, was also responsible for the change, for the factory system could not allow the worker to continue to live in his cottage with its garden where he had spent a part of his time in farming and part in weaving. The results of the industrial revolution soon became evident. In scarcely a half century, the face of England changed startlingly. Instead of farms, hamlets and an occasional town, there appeared immense cities, with teeming populations huddled around gigantic factories. Lancashire and West Riding, the great cotton manufacturing centers, seemed like a forest of factories, with their thousands of tall chimneys belching out clouds of smoke and "their hundreds of windows blazing forth a lurid light in the darkness and rattling with the whir and din of ceaseless machinery by day and night." England had become the "Workshop of the World."

Summary of Effects of Revolution.

The more general effects of this great revolution which has continued down to our own time may be summarized briefly as follows: first, it has produced a tremendous expansion of industry. The possibility of manufacture is only limited by the amount of raw material and the demand for the product and so far there has been an ever increasing demand and ever increasing manufacture. This has led to the discovery of a new use for

colonies. In the early period, England was satisfied to establish trading posts to trade or barter with the natives, but soon she began to realize that the new lands were needed for white settlers who could produce the raw materials for her manufactures. With this in mind, England quietly and without opposition began to colonize the most important undeveloped lands and to settle her people there to assist the people who were laboring in the mills at home by furnishing them their raw materials and buying a portion of their manufactured goods.

Social Classes. The Bourgeois.

In the second place there have come great changes over the face of society.[1] Instead of a middle or "free" class, few in numbers, as under the feudal régime, there has grown up a *bourgeois* or middle class who have taken the leadership from the hands of the nobles and have dominated society even to our own day. This was accomplished because the greatly increased production of wealth fell almost wholly into their hands, and, because they so thoroughly identified themselves with the new state that they were thus able to safeguard themselves in all its activities. Hence they control the great accumulations of wealth and the direction and character of industry and have made of democracy largely a bourgeois or middle class democracy.

The "Working Class."

But even more important than the development of the great middle class was the creation of the "working class" of society. The industrial revolution not only created the workingman but has practically given him his characteristics and place in society. He became almost wholly dependent upon the capitalist class for his livelihood. He had lost his power of independent work by his faithfulness to a machine, while at the same time he lost the hand "cunning" which had earlier characterized him. Little by little there was evolved for him, without his participation, a wage system and an economic system which left him just able to live and care for his family by using all its members as soon as they were able to stand before the machines. Thus the revolution in completing the destruction of the mediæval system replaced it with a system which in many ways left the peasant and proletariat classes as dependent and helpless as under the old system.

The centralization of factories led to the establishment of tenement houses for cheap living with all their evils. It led to the employment of women and children for long hours on wages just above the verge of starvation. It led to modern conditions of unemployment which

[1] Compare social changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution in Chapter I, Part VI, The Beginnings of the Social Problem.

have become so great an evil in modern life and which we are trying now with some hope of success to remedy. It led to the sweat shop system and to the many other evils of our modern industrial life.

Nevertheless there were begun almost at once and directed by the middle class, influences that have gradually emancipated the workingman. Little by little the solidarity of the two classes has grown into the consciousness of society. Hence there began an attack upon the evils of the revolution which has grown in volume and intensity even to our own day. To realize this, we need only recall the efforts toward health, toward better housing, better sanitation, better education, better policing, better conditions of labor and the many other reforms which have characterized the civilization of the nineteenth century.

In the third place, the industrial revolution has greatly affected the growth and development of our political institutions. First of all the movement gave to the middle class very largely the direction of affairs. In England the change came rapidly and without bloodshed. The great reform act of 1832 saw the culmination of the process by which the middle class assumed control and began to shape the constitutional monarchy into more democratic forms. But this was only a step in the process, for the act of 1832 was permitted to stop the advance barely more than a generation until the further revolution came which ushered into political life the "Workingman". These great changes went far to associate the revolution with the great democratic movement of the nineteenth century. As was perhaps natural, political emancipation has preceded industrial emancipation because industrial changes are more difficult to effect and because the bourgeois class has held so tenaciously to its theory of individualism in industry. Not until near the close of the century was Europe prepared to act on the principle that the state could interfere freely without necessarily destroying the participation of the individual, and we are now undertaking our great social reforms with this idea in view.

The industrial revolution has given a great impetus to the growth of nationality. It established industry as a very central idea of the state. It therefore greatly unified the people by attracting their attention in this direction. It also set them off more distinctly from other states by this process of inside unity and by the competition for raw materials. There has thus grown up the idea of the national state with its aim to become an economic unit independent of all other states. This has led therefore directly to the terrible conflict so recently closed—each great national entity in deadly competition with all others for further economic strength. It has also led to many

internal troubles where old geographical lines have included peoples not unified in purpose and life.

But we believe that this same industrial revolution has in it the seeds of peace. Trade and commerce thrive well only under peace conditions. The Great War has aided greatly in making clear the economic dependence of all nations upon each other. The coöperation of the allied nations has made it clear that such a relation is far more helpful than the old competitive plan. It is difficult to conceive how we can forget the coöperative work during the war or how we can forget that the old competitive methods were so great a cause of the war.

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The English Industrial Revolution

Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. II, pp. 68-86.

The American Economic Revolution

Beard, Contemporary American History, pp. 27-50.

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The Industrial Revolution

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Hazen, Europe since 1815, Ch. IX.
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Seignobos, A Political History of Europe since 1814, Ch. VI.
Toynbee, The Industrial Revolution, pp. 38-72.

CHAPTER II

COLONIAL EXPANSION OF EUROPE—THE BRITISH EMPIRE

THE expansion of Europe may be said to have passed through three different periods. The first period which may be called the "old colonialism" dates from the sixteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This period of colonial expansion was based upon the mercantile theory, a theory which prevailed during these centuries, that a colony existed for the benefit of the mother country alone. It declared that everything must be done for the upbuilding of a merchant marine without which the statesmen of the times felt a nation to be absolutely worthless. It also claimed that that country was the wealthiest whose exports were greater than its imports: in other words, which had a favorable balance of trade. This meant that money should be flowing into the country and not any flowing out. In the third place, mercantilism taught that nothing should be imported from the colonies which could in any way be produced in the mother country. This was the policy which dominated England's relations to her American colonies in the eighteenth century and was the underlying cause of the American revolution. This theory brought about conflict between England and Holland in the seventeenth century and a conflict between France and England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Following the industrial revolution in the middle of the eighteenth century, there developed a new attitude toward the colonies. Lecky in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," says that if Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" had been written thirty years earlier, the American revolution would not have occurred. By this he means that if the policy that England adopted towards its colonies in the early nineteenth century had been followed at an earlier time, England would not have tried to prohibit the trade of the American colonies and hence there might not have been an American revolution. The prevailing economic theory of England in the nineteenth century became that of "laissez-faire." This theory believed in free trade. The Mercantilists had been advocates of a protective tariff. The followers of the new theory believed the colonies should be allowed to trade whither they wished. This theory prevailed in England until the middle of the nineteenth century. Richard Cobden, the father of the free trade movement of the

Periods in the Expansion of Europe.

The Mercantilist Theory.

nineteenth century, was entirely opposed to colonial expansion. However, about 1870 a new attitude toward colonies developed in western Europe. The French Revolution had placed the political power in the hands of the upper middle class. This class was particularly interested in trade. The industrial revolution, having had its beginning in England, gave England the ascendancy in trade but about 1870 new competitors arose for the trade of the world. Among these were Germany and the United States.[1] The chief reasons for the change in the attitude of the European Powers toward the colonies were, in the first place, the industrial revolution. The industrial revolution developed a new industrial class who became known as the capitalists. More goods were produced than the people of England themselves could use. This necessitated markets. Furthermore, England was not able to supply its factories with raw materials.[2] Other nations competed for these markets and so a new policy developed, namely that of obtaining colonies in which the mother country would have the absolute control of the market for obtaining raw materials and in return furnishing manufactured goods. This has sometimes been styled the period of Neo-Mercantilism. Furthermore, the increase of capital from the new methods of industry became so great that capital began to seek new fields for investment. It found opportunities in the undeveloped portions of the world. Capital in western Europe was doubled almost from 1870 to 1890. The increase of the output of gold was more than doubled and silver was trebled.[3] Another cause for the development of colonies was the increase in population. All western European states except France were over-populated. Euro-

Period of Neo-Mercantilism.

[1] The world market seemed to the Lancashire and Birmingham exporter of the early nineteenth century illimitable. *But the last quarter of the century marked a rapid change. New Nations had entered the career of industrial and commercial capitalism,* and were *invading the export markets of which we held possession,* and were *opening up or competing with one another for new markets.*—Hobson, Democracy after the War, 79.

[2] From 1885 to 1913, the British exports to her colonies of articles wholly or mainly manufactured rose from £71,300,000 to £172,000,000, an increase of 141 per cent. From 1885 to 1913 British imports of food from the colonies rose from £19,800,000 to £60,300,000, an increase of 204 per cent.—From P. and A. Hurd, The New Empire Partnership (1915), p. 234. Quoted in Schapiro, European History, p. 420 (foot note).

[3] "The total output of gold increased from $477,000,000 to $836,000,000 during the same time, (1870-1890) and the yearly product of silver grew from $39,000-000 in 1850 to $135,000,000 in 1885, and reached $217,700,000 by 1904. By 1900 the wealth of European states was reputed to be approximately $246,600,000,000; and private resources were accumulating with equal rapidity . In December of 1909, the Comptroller of the Treasury reported that the total resources of the banks of the United States reached the stupendous sum of $21,100,000,000."
Harris, Intervention and Colonization in Africa, 8-9.

pean states wished to colonize their people without causing them to lose their nationality. However, the need for colonization due to over-population has been over-emphasized. The facts are that the inhabitants of European states have not settled in the colonies of their mother country in the same proportion that they have in other parts of the world. A third reason which was an outgrowth of the French Revolution was the development of the idea of nationalism. Nationalism from an economic point of view has been defined as "group competition or group antagonism" which leads people from a given nation or state to regard themselves as dependent for their well-being solely on themselves and dependent especially for this well-being on group action against other groups. The spirit is not one of coöperation toward other people but rather of hostility and antagonism toward them. The spirit of nationalism has been intensified by economic facts. In previous chapters it has been shown how Germany developed her Zollverein or customs union with the idea of keeping the trade within the empire. Many of the European states have given governmental support and encouragement to bankers and investors in foreign lands. They have also subsidized[4] merchant marines. Furthermore, protective tariffs have been established to aid the trade of the mother country with its colonies at the expense of some other country. Germany, in order to develop its economic superiority, has been in recent years the most notable in the use of such ideas. Another economic result of nationalism is that special classes of the population have gained at the expense of the people as a whole.

In its development the British Empire, more than any other country, has gone through the three periods mentioned above. Prior to 1815 England's colonial policy was governed by the idea of mercantilism. This led to the war with the American colonies.[5] England's aim was to restrict the trade of the colonies to the mother country. They were prohibited from manufacturing and they were

[4] A subsidy means paying of money by a country to some particular industry. The best example of a subsidy is the money paid by various countries to private shipping companies in order to build up a merchant marine.

[5] John A. Hobson, the famous English economist, says regarding the effects of this policy upon his own country. "This mercantilist theory, which came into prominence or the economic policy of nationalism, so soon as central national government was firmly established in this country, was the guiding principle in our policy during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Though the American Revolution struck a mortal blow at mercantile colonization, while the free trade policy of Peel and Cobden seemed to make a financial renunciation of state regulation of external trade, mercantilism has never been completely extirpated from our theory of government, or even from our practices."—Hobson Democracy after the War, 74.

to furnish England with the raw material for her industries. Following the industrial revolution, England became the leader in industrial development of the world. She had no competitors in this sphere. For this reason, she had no one to fear. And from this time on until the middle of the nineteenth century her policy was free trade. However, with the competition which she received from Germany and the United States a certain leadership in British political thought began to advocate a change in her policy with regard to her colonies.[6]

Development of British Empire.

As indicative of the second period of Britain's colonial policy, her attitude toward Canada is a good example. Prior to 1840, the Canadians were left to govern themselves as they saw fit. It even became advocated that the colonies like ripe fruit should be allowed to drop off from the parent stem. In 1837 a revolution broke out in Canada and this resulted in a new attitude toward that country. Canada, up to this time, was divided into two divisions, upper and lower Canada. Upper Canada had reference to Ontario and Lower Canada had reference to the French colonies, particularly Quebec. In 1837 a revolution broke out in Lower Canada and this resulted in the sending over of a commission under the leadership of Lord Durham. He made a famous report in regard to the government of that province. He reported that three things were necessary for internal peace. First, a closer union between the various Canadian colonies; second, the establishment of a local representative government in each colony; third, a responsible government for all colonies. This report was pigeon-holed for years but later it was found advisable to heed his words and reform in Canada was brought about. In 1840, upper and lower Canada were united into one government with separate governments for the two portions. In 1867 by the British North American Act, all the Canadian colonies were formed into the Dominion of Canada. Plans were also made for the addition of the northwestern colonies to the Dominion. A British governor-general was appointed by the Crown and a representative body consisting of two houses, a Senate and a lower house, the House of Commons, based upon representation in relation to population, was established. The government is based on the British cabinet system with the real head, a premier, chosen from the majority party in the lower house. The governor-general, who is really a figurehead, is almost the only sign of connection between the Dominion of Canada and the mother country. Since 1867 the development of Canada has been tremendous. Two trans-continental railroads have

Second Period of Britain's Policy.

[6] See description of Imperial Federation later in this chapter.

been built, the west has been opened to settlement, and the western provinces have been made a part of the Dominion. Canada has shown her loyalty to the mother country by furnishing troops in the war with the Boers and by her extreme patriotism in the recent war.

The colonies of Great Britain may be divided into four types. The first, the self-governing colonies. The Dominion of Canada is an example of this class. Other self-governing dominions are Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. The second type of colonies are the crown colonies, in which there is some popular control. An example of the third type is the colony of India and the fourth are protectorates, in which there is virtually no self-government.

Types of British Colonies.

In the eighteenth century Captain Cook, an Englishman, came to these islands and took possession of them in the name of that country. Prior to 1851 when gold was discovered, Australia, particularly the Province of New South Wales, was used for convict colonies. In 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria, one of the provinces of Australia, and the population increased greatly. Prior to 1900 each of the provinces of Australia had its own independent government. In 1900, the six provinces of New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, West Australia, and the adjoining island of Tasmania were united into the commonwealth of Australia. They adopted a common constitution based partly upon that of the United States and partly on the constitution of Great Britain. They were to have a governor-general appointed by the British government, a senate of 36 members, six chosen from each state, and a house of representatives chosen in proportion to population. The real government is the cabinet similar to that of Great Britain.

Australia and New Zealand.

Until a few years ago, New Zealand was known as "a country without strikes." In 1865 it established government ownership of its telegraphic lines. It has state owned railroads and street car lines. In 1869 it created a state life insurance office. In 1894 were established the acts which have made New Zealand famous. These made arbitration in industrial disputes compulsory. It was one of the first countries in the world to establish factory acts in which child labor was prohibited, the condition of the workers regulated, and the hours of work stated. In 1877 its education act provided for free and compulsory education. In 1889 state ownership of mines became a law. It was one of the first countries of the world to establish inheritance and income taxes and to become an owner of land.

Australia has also been a pioneer in social reform. The colony

of Victoria was among the first of the Australian states to lead in labor reforms. This colony has established methods to prevent "sweating"[7] in those trades which are poorly paid by means of public boards composed of employers and employees which have the power of regulating wages and conditions of work. The Australian ballot has given Australia a reputation for its progressive attitude in social affairs.

India.

India became of great importance to the western European world due to its spice trade, its precious jewels and the other commodities which it furnished western trade. In the sixteenth century, India was conquered by the Mongols. This empire lasted for about two centuries with the capital at Delhi. The breaking up of the Mongolian Empire gave European countries an opportunity to get possession of India with its unlimited natural resources and its great population. Portugal was one of the first countries to develop a trade with India. This was due to the discovery by Vasco da Gama sailing under the flag of Portugal, of a passage around the Cape of Good Hope. France later opened up trading posts and was followed by the English. During the Seven Years' War, known in this country as the French and Indian War, trouble broke out between the French and the English in India. The French were defeated by Sir Robert Clive, the representative of the East India Company in India, and France gave up its possessions in India with the exception of a few ports. In 1849 the Punjab, as the region in north India is called, was added to the English domain. Up to 1858 English possessions in India were governed by the East India Company. In that year the East India Company was abolished. In 1877, Queen Victoria was made Empress of India by Disraeli, the prime minister. This was one sign of the new imperialism which that great premier had begun to develop. In recent years, many of the young Hindus have studied in the western countries and have become imbued with western ideas, particularly the idea of self-government. India, like many other countries of the nineteenth century, has felt a movement toward nationalism. These young Hindus desire representation in Parliament. Their cry is "India for the Indians."

India is a very important possession of the British Empire. The British have made great efforts to develop its great resources. They have maintained order throughout this dominion of various nation-

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[7] "Sweating" has reference to the paying of such a low wage that it is not enough to give a decent living wage. This has particular reference to the clothing trade. Australia and New Zealand were the first countries in the world to develop a minimum wage system.

alities. They have built thousands of miles of railroads, introduced new methods of cultivation, have made India one of the principal countries exporting wheat, cotton, and opium. India has also been a great market for the cotton manufacturers of England. Public instruction has been developed and encouraged. The Hindus have been taken into the civil administration of India, the higher officials coming from England itself. Many of the natives have been opposed to England's domination. The result has been the rise of the national party which has claimed that India is being used for the Englishman at the expense of the Hindu; that the native industries have been suppressed by the importation of English manufactured goods. During the war, India furnished many soldiers for Great Britain on the western front and measures were taken to develop a more representative government.

English rule in India has brought a good deal of good. It has broken down local animosities. It has established enlightened civil and criminal codes. Recently there has arisen among the Indians a party known as the social reformists. This party claims that political reform ought to be preceded by the reform of social customs. This party is undoubtedly far in advance of the majority of the population. The nationalists and social reformers are only a small minority and the mass of the people are indifferent. India cannot be rightly styled a nation. It is a conglomeration of people who are different in race, language, institutions, and religion. It is very doubtful whether all the populations could be united under one common rule. In spite of the complaints of the nationalists, British domination is firmly established and appears assured of a brilliant future.

Great Britain has other possessions in Asia. She has control of a part of Indo-China, has possessions in China proper, has recently made Tibet a protectorate, and in 1907 through a union with Russia, she gained joint control of Persia. In Afghanistan, Great Britain has some control. Since the war, she has obtained further control in Asia. Persia is now virtually a colony, Mesopotamia and other portions of Western Asia are partially, at least, under British supervision.

African Possessions of Great Britain.

Two chief centres of the British Empire in Africa are the Cape of Good Hope in the south and Egypt in the northeast. The former was settled by the Dutch and remained a Dutch possession until 1814 when it came into the hands of the English as a part of its spoils at the Congress of Vienna. During 1836 to 1838, the Dutch made what was known as the "Great Trek," which was a movement toward the northeast beyond the Orange river

and even northward to Natal and beyond the Vaal river. The Transvaal colony was formed and in 1852 its independence was recognized by the British. In 1854 the Orange river colony was given independence under the name of the Orange Free State. Trouble arose with the Boers and in 1877 Great Britain annexed Transvaal. These states were of very little importance until the discovery of rich mines of gold in 1885. This resulted in a great influx of emigrants, especially English, and the formation of the city of Johannesburg in 1886 whose population at one time was as great as one hundred thousand people which made it much larger than the capital of the Transvaal republic. These British subjects later wished a share in the government which was refused by the Boers. Intervention of the British Government in the affairs of her citizens in these states resulted in the Boer war which lasted from 1899 to 1902. The Boers showed themselves indefatigable fighters especially in guerilla warfare. Great Britain, under the generalship of Lord Kitchener, adopted a rigorous method of fighting and the Boers were finally defeated. The Boers obtained self-government and an indemnity of $15,000,000 to reconstruct their lands. In 1909 the four colonies, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State were formed into a federal government, the Union of South Africa. The granting of a constitution to South Africa, to a conquered people, is a masterpiece of British political democracy. To-day South Africa is the most important British colony in Africa. Louis Botha, one of the famous Boer generals, became the first premier of the union. Jan Smuts, another Boer general, distinguished himself during the recent war both in Africa and in England itself. He was the author of one of the plans submitted to the peace conference for the adoption of a League of Nations and his popularity was so great in the mother country that he has been even spoken of as a future premier.[8]

Egypt.

Egypt, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was a province nominally of the Turkish Empire. At this time it was an undeveloped country but it has been transformed into one of the most productive countries in the world. This has been brought about through the work of a foreign dynasty, that of Mehemet-Ali, and of two European powers, France and England. Mehemet-Ali, who ruled during the early part of the nineteenth century, had the ambition of making Egypt a Moslem empire capable of playing a great part in European politics. After the example of Peter the Great in

[8] Jan Smuts has recently taken a prominent part in the meeting of the British premiers in London (1921). This meeting of the premiers of the leading British dominions marks a new step forward toward Imperial Federation. These colonial premiers have made a decided impress on British foreign policy.

Russia, he introduced by force European customs; he brought in foreigners, especially French engineers, to develop the resources of the country. He introduced the cultivation of cotton. His successors pushed the development of the country with great activity. The introduction of the cultivation of sugar-cane was among their works. The digging of the Suez Canal under French engineers is also one of their contributions. Ismael, one of his descendants, obtained from Turkey the title of Khedive, and almost complete independence. He became very extravagant and borrowed large sums of money from French and British financiers. In 1875 not being able to pay the interest on his debts he offered for sale his Suez canal shares. Disraeli, the British premier, bought them. Due to the financial conditions of Egypt, European governments interfered in 1876 and finally a joint control by France and England was established. This aroused a great deal of antagonism among the Egyptians themselves; revolution broke out under the leadership of Arabi which demanded the abolition of European control. The French Government refused to join England in an invasion and so France withdrew from control. This brought about English intervention and later control. December 14, 1914, the British government announced that Egypt's relation to Turkey was severed and declared that henceforth Egypt was to be a British protectorate. After the war, the government of Great Britain sent a commission under the leadership of Lord Milner, a former viceroy of Egypt, to Egypt to make a study of the relations of Great Britain to Egypt. Lord Milner's report has been published. He recommends that Egypt be given her independence, Great Britain only keeping a nominal supervision.

The occupation of Egypt has been for England the beginning of a still more important work, namely, the penetration of equatorial Africa by means of the Valley of the Nile. This led the English to the conquest of the Sudan in 1898. Trouble arose when "Chinese" Gordon, a veteran of the war of the Crimea, who was sent to protect this territory, lost his life. After ten years warfare, Lord Kitchener was sent and brought about the conquest of the Sudan with the aid of the Egyptian army. The fall of Khartoum had for a definite result the conquest of the Sudan which was placed under the common authority of England and Egypt. The same year (1898) in this territory trouble arose between the French, who were moving eastward from central Africa, under the command of Colonel Marchand, and the British under the leadership of Kitchener. This is known in history as the "Fashoda incident." This question was carried to Europe. War between Great Britain and France was threatened but it was

finally settled by the withdrawal of the French from the Sudan, and later the joint Franco-British entente (1904) in which France gave up all claim to Egypt, and England recognized the priority of the claim of France to Morocco.

"It was especially upon the economic life of Egypt that the English have exercised a beneficial action. They have continued the work begun by Mehemet-Ali and the French. The finances have been reorganized and the credit of Egypt has been reëstablished. Important works have been undertaken to the profit of English capitalists and engineers. By means of irrigation the extent of cultivated land has been greatly increased and Egypt has become a great cotton producer. . . . . A few figures will suffice to show the progress of Egypt; the population which amounted to 5,000,000 people in 1877 has increased to 11,000,000, in 1907; commerce has trebled from 1881 to 1913. England has always tried to keep for herself the economic monopoly of Egypt."

"Egypt has assumed for England a larger and larger importance. She furnishes raw materials for the manufacturers of the mother country and, thanks to her population, she is an outlet for these same manufactures. She is one of the principal steps on the route to the Indies. In short, due to the Valley of the Nile she is one of the principal routes of entrance and one of the richest outlets of central Africa." She assures to her possessors a domain over the entire continent. For this reason, British imperialists are attempting to maintain this predominance by the construction of a vast continental railway from the Cape to Cairo which will unite Egypt and southern Africa. Gibbons [9] in his recent work "The New Map of Africa," says in regard to the British occupation of Egypt:

"The Egyptians resent the pretension of the British to manage their internal affairs for them. They want to get rid of the officials who have installed themselves, not always tactfully, in the ministries as masters in every branch of administration. They are like every other nation in the world in wanting to run their own affairs. They grant that they may run them badly for a while. But their argument is unanswerable. They ask you to point out a single nation in history that has evolved into a self-governing community without having gone through a long period of imperfection, mistakes, and errors, even of revolution and anarchy."

An interesting comparison might be made between the British rule in Egypt and the French rule in Algeria. The British have always

[9] Gibbons, The New Map of Africa, 435. For an excellent account of Great Britain's rule in Egypt cf., Brailsford, The War of Steel and Gold, Ch. III.

remained aloof from the people. The civil government is in the hands of British representatives. Practically nothing has been done regarding the education of the natives. Although the economic development of Egypt has been wonderful, this, in the main, has benefited the English. The British officials in Egypt pay no taxes. France, on the other hand, has granted to the people of Algeria a very large measure of self-government. France has done everything she could in order not to antagonize their religious and social traditions. She has introduced education from the primary class to the University. Great Britain might well take leaves from the book of France in regard to this possession.

Imperial Federation.

As indicative of the changed attitude in Great Britain in regard to colonies, it has been proposed to federate all the parts of the British Empire. The partisans of federation claim it would be profitable both to the mother country and the colonies to strengthen the political and economic ties which unite them. As early as 1852, in New Zealand, Imperial Federation was discussed. In 1857, a general association of Australian colonies advanced similar ideas. Lord Beaconsfield in 1872 spoke of the granting of constitutions as "part of a great policy of imperial consolidation." The idea of imperial federation was first expressed in a book by Sir Charles Dilke entitled "Greater Britain." It was carried out in more detail in Seeley's "The Expansion of England." In 1884 was founded the imperial federation league. Imperialism developed soon after Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) proclaimed Victoria Empress of India and began a new policy of colonial expansion. In 1884 was founded the imperial federation league. This league in 1891 sent one of its members to Canada to hold conferences in favor of federation. "'Imperial unity' became the battle cry of British Unionist statesmen who hoped to strengthen the Empire against rival imperial powers especially Germany; the cry was taken up by British business men who were engaged in colonial trade, and echoed by loyal British hearts in mother country and colony alike. Imperial unity, as Joseph Chamberlain pointed out, could be secured only through 'imperial federation,' that is through the recognition of the Dominions as copartners with the United Kingdom in a sort of federal empire. This idea of imperial federation could be approached by three main avenues: imperial preference, imperial conference, and imperial defense."

The plan of federation gained a start in 1887, the year of the Queen's Jubilee. The problem of taxation and military defense brought the colonies and the mother country into opposition. The former favored protective tariff; the latter, free trade. Joseph

Chamberlain, who was colonial secretary from 1885 to 1902, became the strong advocate of this idea. He favored a protective tariff for the mother country in its relations to foreign countries and a system of imperial provincial tariffs.[10]

Imperial federation was again discussed at the Jubilee of 1897 when there was a meeting of the British cabinet and the premiers of the self-governing colonies. Those who had the idea of imperial federation hoped to obtain through a protective tariff revenues to help support the needs of the mother country; to stimulate the manufacturers of the mother country, and to develop markets for them in the colonies; to obtain means for imperial defense; and, as a last resort, to bind all parts of the Empire more firmly together. The chief reason for the attitude of those favoring this policy was the competition of Great Britain with the trade of Germany and the United States. The policy of establishing a protective tariff failed to be carried into effect in England. Several of the colonies, however, established preferential tariffs. In 1897 Canada reduced her tariff on foreign goods in favor of the mother country one-eighth in 1898, one-fourth in 1900; Australia 30 per cent. and New Zealand 50 per cent.[11]

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Lavell and Payne, Imperial England.

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For an interesting account of British Expansion read Wells Outlines of History, Ch. XXXIX sections 9 and 12.

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[10] Imperial preference meant simply that by mutual agreement the United Kingdom as well as the Dominions should establish a protective tariff system by which heavier duties would be placed on imports from foreign countries than on imports from British lands—Hayes, Political and Social History of Europe, Vol. II, 654.

[11] The most important British acquisitions of the War are: annexation of Mesopotamia, protectorates over Egypt, Persia and Hedjaz (Arabia); and administration of various German colonies under mandate of the League of Nations.

As stated above the recent meeting of the British premiers is a distinct movement toward Imperial Federation.

CHAPTER III

COLONIAL EXPANSION OF EUROPE—(Continued)

The Partition of Africa.

Up to the beginning of contemporary history, the continent of Africa was known as the dark continent. However, due to exploration, this hitherto unknown continent has been opened to the trade of the world. The two most important African Powers are Great Britain which controls all of southern Africa, Egypt, and a great part of central Africa; and France, which, in addition to its colonies on the Mediterranean sea, rules over the great part of the Sudan and a portion of the basin of the Congo river. In addition to these, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, and Italy have colonies or protectorates.[1] The first explorations were scientific and humanitarian in their aims. Later these were of a political and economic character. The scientific explorations were completed between 1850 and 1880. During the period of the discovery of the sources of the Nile river, the problem of the penetration of equatorial Africa and the regions of the Great Lakes and the opening of the Congo basin held sway. Livingston, a Scotch missionary, was the first to explore Africa from coast to coast. Henry M. Stanley who was sent by the New York Herald to find Livingston, is second in importance. His great work was following the Congo river to the coast and the disclosure to the world of the vast economic resources and the opportunities of central Africa. Leopold II, King of Belgium, founded at Brussels in 1876 the International African Association, the ostensible aim of which was the abolition of slavery. He supplied Stanley with money from his own purse to explore the basin of the Congo river and later established the International Association of the Congo. In 1884-5 the great European Powers held a conference at Berlin and the regions explored by Stanley were organized into the Congo Free State. Leopold, who became the head of this organization, used his position to exploit the natives. In 1908 this territory became a colony of Belgium.

During the period from 1890-1900 the scramble for colonies in Africa was at its height. Germany and Italy, as a result of their late development, were late in developing colonial interests. Africa was carved into colonies and protectorates. Great Britain, already possessing South Africa and having a virtual control of Egypt, com-

[1] This, of course, has reference to Germany before the recent war.

manded the larger share. Cecil Rhodes[2] dreamed of the idea of a Cape to Cairo railroad running from Cape Colony in the south to Egypt in the north putting under the control of Great Britain the territories intervening. Bismarck, while the leader of affairs in Germany, was strongly opposed to development of colonies. However, he was forced in the late eighties to change his attitude and Germany obtained colonies in southwestern and southeastern Africa just north of the British possessions. They obtained from France as a compromise over the Morocco question some of her possessions in the Congo region. During the reign of William II of Germany there grew up in Germany a dream of a great central African empire under the control of that country.

The Germans were not successful colonizers. They were unable to handle the natives properly and rebellions arose in the German colonies. Italy obtained some territory along the Red sea and Indian ocean. She attempted to conquer Abyssinia south of the British possessions in the Egyptian Sudan but failed. In 1911 she went to war with Turkey and gained as a result of that war possession of Tripoli on the Mediterranean sea.

"At the Peace Conference the question arose regarding the colonies of Germany and some of her allies. It was arranged that the territories such as Central Africa, southwest Africa, and certain of the south Pacific islands should be placed under control of what are called mandatories. These are to have control of the administration of such territories and they are to be responsible to the council of the League of Nations."[3]

The Expansion of France.

During the nineteenth century France, by explorations, treaties, and conquests gained such large areas of territory that her overseas empires became eleven times the size of her own territory. In the eighteenth century, France had been a world power and had a great colonial empire in Asia and North America. A great part of these colonial possessions were taken away from her and by 1815 France's colonial empire had shrunk to insignificance. The France of the twentieth century, however, had a colonial

[2] Cecil Rhodes, an Englishman and a graduate of Oxford University, had a great part in the development of the mining industry in South Africa. It was he who established the Rhodes' scholarships in Oxford. Rhodesia bears his name.

[3] *German Colonies.* All are to be ruled under mandates from the League of Nations. The two greatest German possessions in Africa are assigned to British rule, and the other two are to be divided between Great Britain and France under, an arrangement to be settled upon by those countries. Japan gets the mandates for all the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator, and most of those south of the equator are to be divided between Australia and New Zealand.—N. Y. Times Current History, May 1919, 448.

empire which ranked in size next to that of Great Britain. This great colonial empire began during the reign of Louis Philippe (1830-1848) and spread to western Africa under Napoleon III and across the Sahara and through the Sudan and central Africa during the third republic. Since 1870 the most rapid and most extensive expansion has taken place.

After the Franco-Prussian war the isolation of France on the continent of Europe was complete and two policies were open for her to pursue, either to regain her continental position or to obtain colonies elsewhere. To Jules Ferry, prime minister of France during the eighties, the latter policy seemed the more feasible. He believed an aggressive colonial policy was necessary to give a new market for French goods; that she, through colonial development, might gain prestige abroad and contentment at home, by directing her attention to empire-building, thus diverting from her mind her losses in the German war. Under his influence, France made Tunis a protectorate and a foothold was gained in Indo-China and Madagascar and in the Congo region. The result of the seizure of Tunis earned for France the enmity of Italy which, for this reason, became a part of the Triple Alliance in 1882. With Algeria and Tunis as keys to the African Empire, France gradually extended her power over west Africa until in 1902 it included almost all of northwest Africa. Besides the colonies in west Africa, France also has gained important territory on the eastern coast. Started on her colonial policy, France was not satisfied with her vast territories in Africa but went into Asia to get more. A protectorate was established at Annam in 1883 and over Tonkin in 1885. Cambodia and other territories in Indo-China were also added to the French dominion.[4]

Algeria.

During the Franco-Prussian war Algeria was used as an outlet for the many Alsatians coming from France. In governing Algeria at the beginning France pursued a purely military policy. Later she tried to apply to Algeria a civil régime and declared Algeria a part of France itself. Prior to the nineties of the nineteenth century France pursued a policy of repression. A brief quotation under date of 1891 states: "This wretched people are oppressed by taxes of every kind." A quotation under date of 1909 is: "Not until I visited the French colony of North Africa did I find what I considered a most perfect form of colonization and I now firmly believe that the French people and the French government are today the most practical colonizers of the civilized world." France has done a wonderful work in Algeria in the development of agriculture, by establishing

[4] All these territories are located in southeastern Asia.

hydraulic works and irrigation methods. She has covered the country with ways of communication and public works. She has established a separate budget of the Algerians from that of France itself. She has done everything she could to placate the native inhabitants who have been granted absolute religious toleration. The soldiers of France have dressed as nearly as possible in the same costume as the natives. The French have spent great sums of money in developing education. The Algerians have a representation in the French Parliament. The country is divided into districts corresponding to those of France with similar local governments. Tunis has also gone through a remarkable development since becoming a French protectorate.[5]

Beginning with 1898 under the leadership of Delcassé, France pursued a new policy in regard to foreign affairs. Up to the time of his ministry, the policy of France had been to look upon Great Britain as a particular enemy.[6] With his advent as minister of foreign affairs this attitude changed. It was partly through his influence that trouble was prevented over the Fashoda Incident;[7] that the Entente Cordiale in 1904 between France and Great Britain was formed by which France gave up any claim to Egypt and Great Britain recognized the predominant interest of France in Morocco. Delcassé also made treaties with Italy and Spain. The claim of France to a paramount interest in Morrocco led to trouble with Germany and resulted in the Algeciras conference of 1906 which defined the interests of France and recognized that Morocco should be opened to the trade of various European countries. Trouble broke out again in 1909 and 1911 and almost led to war between these countries. Whether the colonies of France are a benefit or detriment only the future can decide. W. L. George in his "Twentieth Century France" says socially, financially, and commercially "whether we look upon them as precepts of the youth of the nation or as 'national heirlooms' the French policy is a failure." Other writers take just the opposite view point.[8]

Russia, after her failure in the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) to advance to the Mediterranean, gave her attention more definitely to Eastern expansion. She now built her transcontinental railway connecting Russia proper with the Orient. After the seizure of Kiao-Chou by Germany in 1897, Russia took Port Arthur from

[5] For more regarding the French in Tunis, see Gibbons, New Map of Africa, *passim*.

[6] For recent French foreign policy, cf., Stuart, Contemporary French Foreign Policy.

[7] For details of the Fashoda incidents, cf. Part V, Ch. IV.

[8] France may have made a few mistakes, but she has conferred enormous benefits on North Africa. Under her control the indigenous population has increased remarkably. Sir Harry H. Johnston. Footnote Wells, 501.

China in order to gain for the Russian empire an open port as the terminus of the Trans-Siberian railroad. Germany in 1897 forced China to give up portions of the province of Shantung and allowed her economic concessions. This brought about seizure by Great Britain and France of territories in that empire. In the Russian-Japanese war the territory taken from China by Russia was given to Japan which promised to maintain an "open door" policy. During the recent war, Japan defeated Germany in Asia and took possession of her Chinese territories. One of the great problems of the peace conference was what to do with these possessions. Secret treaties had been made between Japan and the Allies prior to the entrance of the United States into the war. By the terms of the peace conference, Japan becomes heir to the German concessions.[9] One of the problems of the future is whether China is to be allowed to remain intact or whether the exploitation of that empire shall continue. In the next chapter, the problem of imperialism will be taken up in more detail.[10]

European Powers in the East.

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Wells, Outlines of History, Ch. XXXIX, Sections 9-12; Ch. XL, Sections 1-8.

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[9] Japan and Kiao-Chou. The agreement was stated to be a compromise, inasmuch as Japan must restore to China full sovereignty over Kiao-Chou and the whole Shantung peninsula. Besides the railroad and other concessions which she already holds, Japan is to be allowed to establish a settlement at Tsing-tao, south of Kiao-Chou, and to restore those political rights which, she holds, came to her as Germany's successor in this region, in her own way and as a free agent instead of being compelled to surrender them summarily to China through the Peace Conference.—N. Y. Times Current History, June, 1919, p. 444.

[10] See note close of Part V, Chapter IV, regarding British possessions in the East. By arrangement with China, Great Britain was to hold paramount influence in Tibet.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF IMPERIALISM

In the previous chapters we have shown that a new attitude regarding colonial expansion began about 1870. The new imperialism, as it has been called, has resulted from the expansion of Europe in the nineteenth century. "It would not be far from true to say that the new imperialism was the most significant feature in the history of the last half century."[1] This new development has been more economic in its character than the old and was very largely an effect of the great changes made by the industrial revolution and the political and social changes resulting from the French Revolution. The former through its development of modern means of manufacture and distribution made possible the occupation of distant lands; through its production of more goods than the people at home could use it made necessary a market for the sale of finished goods or for raw materials. It produced surplus capital which found more fertile fields for investment in less developed lands than at home. The latter, the French Revolution, contributed an important element in the rise of the new imperialism. In the first place, it overthrew feudalism and the power of the landed aristocracy and was succeeded, to a great extent, by the new middle class which was primarily interested in trade and investment. In the second place, the French Revolution was one of the chief influences toward the growing feeling of nationalism and national prestige. This was one of the chief motives for the colonization of new lands.

The transformation of the earlier policies of colonial expansion into this new imperialism is not easy to describe. The earlier policies found their motives in two main directions. Of these, one was the great desire of the Christian world to save the heathen. The discoveries and, to a greater extent, the explorations of these religious leaders furnish material for many a noble volume. The great work of the Jesuit leaders in Canada, the travels of Marco Polo in Asia and the splendid efforts of Livingston in darkest Africa are suggestions of the work of these men. In every heathen land the Christian leaders have played their part, and in the main it has been a noble part.

[1] Hayes, Political and Social History of Europe, II, 550.

The development of trade and commerce was the second motive. The great rivalries of Europe in the development of trade give us, among others, the story of the development of our own continent. Before the great political and industrial changes of the nineteenth century these rivalries had resulted in the practical division of the world among the great nations. There were few new peoples to conquer! This earlier period was imperialistic. The state stood behind it all. The work of the churches was made to benefit the state in many ways. The old mercantile theory made the state interest itself vitally in trade and industry and the private merchant became a real partner of the state; the latter, furnishing protection; the former doing the work and reaping in large part the financial rewards.

With the growth of the colonies came a change in sentiment toward the colonial problem. Great Britain, as the best example perhaps of one of these great colonial Powers, began to recognize the mistake of the older policy of trying to get everything and give nothing. There was begun then in the early part of the nineteenth century a new idea. This new movement demanded that the colony should become an end in itself and its relations to the mother country should depend largely upon its ability to care for itself. A brief survey of the many differences in Great Britain's colonies will explain this point. Spoliation was to cease and a real empire, each portion giving and getting its share of the general returns, was substituted.

Up to about 1870 this policy saw no change. But hardly had the union of Germany and of Italy taken place until a new interest was taken in the subject of colonization. This new interest was due largely to the same earlier motives, but these motives have been less clearly differentiated because the struggle has been so close to us and the interests of the present generation have been so vitally concerned.

Reasons for Imperialism.

The first reason for the new imperialism, according to its advocates, is that of the duty of the civilized races to carry their institutions and customs to the more backward peoples. This motive has undoubtedly been a cause for the missionary zeal which has inspired Christian peoples to carry their message of good will to all the earth. This is sometimes called assuming the "white man's burden." The theory is that some races have advanced more rapidly toward civilization and it is their obliga on to do all they can to raise the less civilized peoples to a higher degree of culture. This theory presupposes that certain peoples are incapable of governing themselves. If left to themselves, barbarism would inevitably be the result. The aim of those advocating this theory is to develop "a

process whereby the civilization of Europe has been made the civilization of the world."[2]

A second argument which the new interest in colonies has developed is the increase of population in the western World along with undeveloped resources of many lands. The population of western Europe has doubled while the population and resources of many of these other states have remained the same. This argument says that the population of the world is increasing and yet a great portion of the earth is held by peoples who have not developed their natural resources. And if they fail to use their lands to their productive ability they must lose their control to others more able to "draw from the earth the utmost quantity of produce."[3]

A third reason is that a colonial policy is a long step toward the federation of the world. They illustrate their point by Great Britain's attempts at Imperial Federation, seeing in this a step toward world federation.[4] Those advocating this third argument for modern imperialism see the idealistic side of the movement. They aim at an imperialism which is "at once humane, democratic, and international. It is an imperialism, the ideal of which is to safeguard the interests of the natives, to prepare them for self-government and to carry on this process not by competition and war between the interested nations but by mutual agreements for a common benefit. The present cruelties and dangers are to be avoided. The nations are to unite in a joint, higher imperialism."[5]

A further reason for this new interest is the need for an outlet of the surplus capital of the nation. Those defending imperialism contend that the resultant good of investing surplus capital in undevel-

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[2] This idea is very well expressed in the words of Muir: "A great part of the World's area is inhabited by peoples who are still in a condition of barbarism and seem to have rested in that condition for untold centuries. For such peoples the only chance of improvement was that they should pass under the dominion of more highly developed peoples. . . " Muir, Expansion of Europe, 2.

[3] An extreme statement of this attitude is given by Reinsch: "Few nations however, stop with this demand. Most of them frankly regard the world as the inheritance of the most powerful races, which have a right to replace those that are more barbarous or less well endowed with force of mind and character. An advocate of radical methods of colonization says: 'It is an inexorable law of human progress that inferior races are made for the purpose of serving the superior; and if they refuse to serve, they are fatally condemned to disappear.'" Reinsch, World Politics, 11-12.

[4] This argument is well stated by Slater, "It appears that the world is passing out of a stage of nationalism into one of imperialism, and there is a tendency for a larger portion of the earth's surface to come under the control of great empires, yet even this is only a stage towards a further political evolution, towards the Federation of the World." Slater, Making of Modern England, 278.

[5] Weyl, American World Policies, 149.

oped countries, thus opening up new fields for investment, for settlement, and for other enterprises brings about a wider distribution of the world's economic goods. They maintain that "better access to raw material and a wider market for manufacture means a flourishing national industry, steadier employment, better wages, and a prosperity of the whole population, including that of the colony."[6]

Finally the new interest centers largely around the idea of nationalism. With the development of this idea that the national state is the final goal of development came the belief that in the end the state with limited resources must descend to the position of third or fourth rate states. There seemed but one way out of the difficulty and that was by seizing as much undeveloped territory as was available without inquiring too closely about the status of the people or the degree of their civilization. Examples of the working of this cause are seen in the control of Burma and Egypt by Great Britain, in the seizure of portions of China by Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Japan, in the division of a part of Persia between Russia and England and in the attempt by Germany to get control of Mesopotamia.

Methods of the New Imperialism.

Just as the newer *motives* for colonial control have differed somewhat from the older ones, so the *methods* have likewise differed. Modern imperialism may be said to have originated in the famous speech in the British Parliament by Lord Palmerston in 1850. The occasion for this speech was the refusal of a Portugese Jew who had become a naturalized British subject to sue in a Greek court for certain claims he had against the people of that country. He demanded the protection of the British government and Palmerston sent to the Piraeus, the Port of Athens, the British fleet to back up his demands. At this time Palmerston told the world that hereafter a British subject could always say that he was a British citizen and that "*in whatever land he may be he shall feel confident that the cautious eyė and strong arm of England shall protect him from harm.*" This was the beginning of the policy of European nations to defend their subjects' financial investments in whatever land they might be. The real development of imperialism, however, as far as Great Britain is concerned may be said to have begun with the purchase by Disraeli of the Suez canal shares.

Morocco is another good illustration of the methods of imperialism. France loaned to the government of that country some $12,500,000. In order to protect these loans the French government demanded that the French sphere of influence in that country should be recognized. German capitalists invested money in mines. Great

[6] Weyl, American World Policies, 141-2.

Britain, Spain, and Italy also had their money invested in that country. War almost resulted between France and Germany in order to protect financial investments of their capitalists in that country. Under the usual method of approach the new imperialism usually goes through four steps:

1. Peaceful penetration. This means that financiers invest their surplus capital in some undeveloped country.
2. Sphere of influence. The country of the financiers declares the land in which they have invested a sphere of influence. This means a "hands off" policy to the rest of the world.
3. A protectorate. This brings the territory under the control of the country of the investors.
4. Conquest or colonization.

Another good illustration of the method in which imperialistic interests work is found in China. In 1894 China had a war with Japan. A big indemnity was necessary. It borrowed its money through a British bank. From 1896-1902, joint control was exercised by German and British interests. The Boxer rebellion took place and another large indemnity was necessitated. In order to raise the money, the four-power group was organized. This was a group of banking interests of four great nations, France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. Later, Russia and Japan were added and we have the six-power group. The Chinese government was able to borrow the money at cheaper rates of interest from other banking interests in the same and other countries, but Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, informed the Chinese government that this would not be considered a friendly act.[7] The banking group forced China to borrow $300,000,000 when she only needed $30,000,000. When Mr. Wilson became president in 1912 he forced our financial interests to withdraw from the loan.[8] It has been claimed that the real cause of the Japanese-Russian war was the financial investments that a group of Russian courtiers of the Czar had in territory in Manchuria. The advisers of the Czar recommended that Russia concede to Japan in Manchuria and Korea what the Japanese desired. But these courtiers fearful for their investments forced Russia into war.[9]

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[7] The American people can always be proud of the stand that the government of the United States took in regard to the Boxer indemnity. This indemnity was returned to China and the money was to be used to send Chinese students to study in the United States.

[8] Cf. Ogg, National Progress, 315.

[9] Compare General Kuropatkin Memoirs, McClure's Magazine, September, 1908.

The new imperialism, because it has furnished the setting of so much national and colonial action within the past thirty years, is not easy to judge. It has its defenders and detractors and the final word still remains to be written as to its results. There are, however, some results that have become fairly clear and we will confine ourselves to such as seem to us, in part at least, clear.

Results of Imperialism.

Imperialism under many circumstances strengthens the possibility of war. The contests of Germany and France in Morocco, of Russia and Japan in Manchuria, and of Russia and Great Britain in Persia, demand not only strong diplomatic action, but such action backed by readiness for war. This encouraged without doubt the naval program of England and Germany since 1900 and has forced large expenditures for navies in all the other countries of Europe. It also aided in forcing the strong armies of European states as well as the tremendous expenditures upon military and naval supplies. Many of the wars of the later nineteenth century as well as the recent great world struggle will bear examination in the light of this new imperialism as their cause. The stakes are too tremendous to let war stop the development. If they meant that our nation would have to be relegated to the third class of powers and it could be avoided by war, would we hesitate?

The League of Nations in its covenant has attempted to settle this problem of undeveloped lands by the establishment of "mandatories." It says regarding the German colonies: "To these colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the state which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by people not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of the resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League. . .

The League of Nations.

"In every case of mandate the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. . A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise

the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandate." This is a vast step forward and if carried out strictly will be a means of preventing the wars resulting from an unrestrained imperialistic greed.

The new imperialism has looked too much to the land and its resources and too little to the peoples of the land. In the great struggle for territory and spheres of influence the modern civilized nations have not had time or energy to devote to the welfare of their subjects. This result has often greatly affected the work of private organizations who have made it their business to care only for financial objects and in most cases it has resulted in injustice and sometimes worse to the people. This can hardly avoid having its counter result upon the civilized Powers so engaged by weakening the moral forces that must be the mainstay of any civilization.

It is pretty clear too that the new imperialism has had a bad effect upon the internal affairs of most states. It has centered the attention too much upon material prosperity as determined by the exports and imports, by the number of periods which mark the growth of wealth. It has therefore prevented social reform. The situation throughout the world to-day is emphasized by the feeling of the working class that it has not had justice. That we do not feel it more strongly is due to the fact that our development has been largely an internal development of wealth but even here we recognize the problem pretty definitely. In most European states the tremendous taxation necessary to maintain war equipment has borne heavily upon the mass and they have received no equivalent in more leisure or comfort or better means of enjoying life.

Then lastly this new imperialism is at present a menace to Democracy. The reasons for such a statement are too intricate to permit of a full explanation but it is clear that there must come a long period before these newer peoples can be taken into the fold of the governing nation. They must be treated as subjects, unequals, and, as in the case of our treatment of the Philippines which has been of the very best, who is to decide when they may withdraw from our control or become a real part of us? Such a decision must rest with the governing state and its decision is sure to be questioned severely by the subject. How far, too, does such a possession produce a feeling of imperialism upon the holding nation? Certainly it is not too much to say that there is some effect in this direction. Then, too, in so far as it distracts the attention, it retards the progress of democracy. There is no perfect democracy yet, as we all realize, and if this is to be the present goal of nations it will demand that close attention be given to the government of the national state.

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PART VI

THE STATE AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM

PROFESSOR Ellwood defines the social problem as follows: "The Social Problem is now, what it has been in all ages, namely, *the problem of the relations of men to one another*. It is the problem of human living together and cannot be confined to any statement in economic, eugenic,[1] or other one-sided terms. The social problem is neither the labor problem, nor the problem of the distribution of wealth, nor the problem of the relation of population to natural resources, nor the control of hereditary qualities, nor the harmonious adjustment of the relation of the sexes, but it is all these and more. If the social problem is the problem of human living together, then it is as broad as humanity and human nature, then no mere statement of it in terms of one set of factors will suffice." [2]

The social problem as a modern phenomenon may be said to have arisen with the industrial revolution, the change which took place in industry in England in the middle of the eighteenth century.[3] It is true, of course, that there has always been a social problem but this great transformation of industry in all its relations is the source of the social problem as the western world knows it to-day.

Prior to the industrial revolution there was in England what is known as the domestic system. Under the domestic system, industry had been carried on in the household or in small local shops where workmen, usually belonging to an organization called the guild, worked together. They usually owned their own tools and carried on the business of selling the product of their own labor. The workman many times during the summer months worked on a farm and in the winter months carried on the labor in his home with the entire family. Under these conditions the workman received nearly the entire product of his labor. The only restrictions were the laws of his country and the rules of the guild. Daniel Defoe, the author of

[1] 'Eugenic' has reference to the idea that heredity is the chief source of differences in people.

[2] Ellwood, The Social Problem, 13-14.

[3] For description of the industrial revolution in its economic aspects, especially in regard to the great inventions, see Chapter I, Part V, The Economic Revolution.

Robinson Crusoe, has described this system very vividly. He says: "The land was divided into small enclosures of from two acres to six or seven acres each, seldom more, every three or four pieces having a house belonging to them; hardly a house standing out of speaking distance from another. We could see at every house a tenter and on almost every tenter a piece of cloth, or kersie, or shalloon. At every considerable house there was a manufactory. Every clothier keeps one horse at least, to carry his manufactures to market, and every one generally keeps a cow or two, or more, for his family. By this means the small pieces of enclosed land about each house are occupied, for they scarce sow corn (*i.e.*, grain) enough to feed their poultry. The houses are full of lusty fellows, some at their dye vat, some at their looms, others dressing the cloth; the women and children carding or spinning, all being employed from the youngest to the eldest."[4]

Social and Economic Changes of Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution brought about many social and economic changes. The great growth of wealth which resulted from the industrial revolution has had its good as well as its bad results. It has resulted in a wider distribution of wealth of the people as a whole; it has enabled an increasing population to live. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the population of Europe doubled. As an illustration of the expansion of industry, the British cotton manufacture increased from $1,000,000 in 1760 to $600,000,000 in 1910. The commerce of the Unites States and Europe increased eight hundred per cent. in fifty years (1830-1880).

Since the changes made by the industrial revolution in the production, preservation and distribution of goods, an ordinary workingman to-day has a more varied, a more interesting, and a more comfortable life than the noble living in his castle during the Middle Ages. The common man of today has the streets of his city lighted with gas or electricity;[5] he can live in a warmly-heated house; he can have a varied diet. The food of the entire world,—nuts and coffee from South America; dates from Arabia and the far East; fruits from Central and South America are brought to his very doors by the fast methods of modern distribution. The mediæval knight had to have

[4] Quoted in Robinson and Beard, Development of Modern Europe, II, 44-45. This was a description of Defoe's journey through Yorkshire in 1724-1726.

[5] Compare the picture of Paris in the eighteenth century as described by Arthur Young in his Travels:—"The great city (Paris) appears to be in many respects the most ineligible and inconvenient for the residence of a person of small fortune of any that I have seen . . . . The streets are very narrow, and many of them crowded, nine tenths dirty, and all without foot pavements." Robinson and Beard's Readings II, 141-2.

spices in order to make his food palatable. Our modern ways of preserving food make this entirely unnecessary. The ordinary mediæval noble had a most uninteresting life. The monotony of his life was only relieved by occasional wars. His food was poor and unvaried. He had no newspapers or pictures and few books. In short, it was an uncommon thing for even a noble to be able to read. The wandering minstrel brought him what little news he got from the outside. Not for him the great daily newspaper with the news of the whole world. The cheapened processes of printing have created a greater revolution than the transformation of the country worker into the city-dweller; a greater revolution than the American Revolution or of the French Revolution. The ordinary man to-day is thus enabled to read what was only permitted to a few. Then think of the motion picture! It has enabled the poorest individual to enjoy the wonders of his age and to witness with his own eyes what is happening the world over.

This is one side of the picture. The results have not been wholly good. The greatly increased production of wealth ought to have meant that every-able-bodied man, woman or child should have enough of this world's goods to live in comfort all his or her life. Poverty had to be expected under the old system of production and distribution when not enough goods could be produced or saved to carry over from one generation to another. With the tremendous increase in the world's wealth this is no longer true. A great deal of capital is saved.[6] No longer should the Biblical injunction be true that the poor we always have with us.[7] Investigations made by Charles Booth in London in the latter part of the nineteenth century show that, roughly speaking, thirty per cent. of the population of that city were continually in poverty. A similar investigation in York, England, showed that over twenty-seven per cent. of the population of that city lived below the poverty line and that some forty-three per cent. of the laboring classes were found in such a condition. Other investigations confirm these statements.

Another result which has come with the increase in industry has been the appearance of panics and crises. As a result of these, unemployment has become common.[8] The removal of the evils of poverty

[6] Capital does not mean money but goods saved from one period to another.

[7] For discussion why this is unnecessary see: Patten, S. N. The New Basis of Civilization. Notice his discussion of the difference between deficit and surplus economy.

[8] One of the chief causes of poverty is unemployment. Compare the chapters Social Legislation in England and Social Legislation in Germany in regard to means of combating this evil. During the war, the United States established the United States Employment Bureau. See chapter Labor and the War, Part VI, Ch. IV.

has been undertaken by enlightened thinkers and statesmen in all civilized countries.[9] Means of ameliorating the evil conditions of modern life have been proposed and are being acted upon. Social insurance of various kinds has been enacted with laws.[10] Still poverty exists! Modern poverty is harder to endure when the individual knows that under modern methods of production it is unnecessary. Society should care for those whose poverty is due to physical or mental infirmity but the hard-working man or woman in this day in the western world ought not to dread its advent. Modern methods of taxation are being devised to prevent the exploitation of the working class and to bring about a wider dispersal of goods.

One of the most important of the changes of the Industrial Revolution was the development of the factory system. This change from the domestic system to the factory system was very gradual, for even to-day there are small shops run by their owners as under the domestic system. Instead of working in his own shop or with his fellows in a small industry, the workman now works in a large factory employing sometimes hundred or thousands of workmen. Thus, with the rise of the factory system there came the development of the capitalist or the employer who furnished the capital to carry on the industry, and the employees or workingmen who simply had their own physical labor to offer. Under the domestic system, the workingman might expect to rise and become himself an employer. Under the new system, this became increasingly difficult because of the necessity of obtaining capital to carry on the business. "The workman in the factory, having nothing more to accomplish than a mere muscular and automatic effort, was descended below the journeyman[11] of former times; at the same time, the chief of the industry had been lifted infinitely above the master-workman. Whether the factory belongs to him, or whether he is only the director of it, this industrial leader has an immense capital at his disposal, and, like a general, he commands an army of workmen. Through his intelligence, position, and manner of living, he belongs to a different world from

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[9] Compare the speech of Lloyd George in his defense of the Budget in the House of Commons, April 29, 1909. He declared it was a budget "*to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness.*" He concluded his famous address by stating that he hoped that "*before this generation has passed away*" that the world will have advanced "*towards that good time when poverty and wretchedness and human degradation . . . . will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests.*" Hayes, C. J. H. British Social Politics, 380.

[10] Compare discussion of Social Legislation in chapters Social Legislation in England and Social Legislation in Germany.

[11] Under the Guild system there were three classes of workers:—(1) Master-workmen (2) Journeymen (3) Apprentices.

that occupied by his workmen."[12] The typical unit of production ceased to be a single family or group of persons working together and came to be a compact organization of people working in a vast factory. With the development of the factory also came the infinite division of labor. In the domestic system, the workman might perform the entire operation of some particular industry like the old-fashioned cobbler in shoe-making. But with the development of the factory there came specialization and one workman performed only a very minute part of the entire operation. This resulted in a separation in many cases of a workman from the results of his labor. Under the former system, he saw the product which he produced and under the new system in most cases he never saw the result of his work. This led to monotony and made the work irksome and ceased to bring about "joy in his labor."[13]

"The laboring man lost especially his relative freedom and independence. Owning no longer the tools with which he worked and becoming specialized in his labor, he seemed but little more than a cog in the vast industrial machine. Hence the tendency of capitalism has been to dehumanize the conditions under which the laboring man works."[14]

The Growth of Cities.

With the factory system came the development of the growth of cities. A recent writer says: "The primary cause for the rapid increase of urban population not only in this country but throughout the civilized world has been the development of the factory system which necessitates concentration of populations at the places where manufacturing is being carried on."[15] This resulted in the transfer of the people from the country to the cities and the congestion of these people in the neighborhood of the factory.[16] With the congestion came the growth of the slum with its overcrowded condition and resulting in the congestion in large tenements where often more than two or three people lived in one room.[17] This has resulted in the housing problem and with that problem pov-

[12] Laveleyé, quoted in Seignobos' "Contemporary Civilization." 426.

[13] "The mass of the industrial population became wage-earners only, without that interest in their work which the old gild workers who owned the product of their labour had had."—Tickner, Social and Industrial History of England, 539.

[14] Ellwood, Social Problem, 80-81.

[15] Parmelee, Poverty and Social Progress, 166.

[16] Cf. the picture of the factory town in Perris, Industrial History of Modern England, 147 ff.

[17] See statement in chapter, Labor and the War, Part VI, Chapter IV, regarding the housing conditions in English and Scottish cities prior to the War. It must be remembered, however, that the growth of cities is very recent and modern society has not yet learned how to adjust itself perfectly to city life.

city has a close connection.[18] This congestion has also resulted in the great increase in urban land values. "More than three quarters of the people now live in the cities or large towns of the country, and as housing legislation came somewhat late at the end of the century more than eighty per cent. of the city population is living under overcrowded conditions,[19] that is to say, more than two to a room."[20] This concentration into cities had two important results,—the people lost that independent character which they had under the domestic system; restraint became the chief feature of the new system; and secondly, it prevented the variation of work which existed under the old system. With it, as has already been said, came the development of the slum with all its wretchedness. "Anything like the squalid misery, the slow, mouldering, putrefying death by which the weak and feeble of the working classes are perishing here, never befell my eyes to behold or my imagination to conceive."[21]

Child and Woman Labor.

Another effect of the development of the factory system was the use of child and woman labor.[22] Skill was not as necessary under the new system as under the old. Child labor had always been used even under the domestic system but the child working for his parents or working along with the other workers did not have to work under the conditions that existed under the new system. In order to obtain cheap labor, the factory employer sent to the poor house and obtained pauper children. Many of these children worked long hours under very bad conditions. Before the British laws regulating the conditions of children were passed, many

[18] The biggest, and in some respects the most characteristic of machine-products is the modern industrial town. Steam-power is in a most literal sense the maker of the modern town. . . . Only in proportion as steam-power became the dominant agent did the economics of factory-production drive the workers to crowd even more densely in the districts where coal and water for generating steam were most accessible, and to throng together for the "most economical use of steam-power in industry."—Hobson, Evolution of Modern Capitalism, 324-5.

[19] The requirements of a decent, healthy, harmonious individual or civic life played no appreciable part in the rapid transformation of the mediæval residential centre, or the scattered industrial village into the modern manufacturing town. Considerations of cheap, profitable work were paramount; considerations of life were almost utterly ignored. So swift, heedless, anarchic has this process been, that no adequate provisions were made for securing the prime conditions of healthy physical existence required to maintain the workers in the most profitable state of working efficiency.—Hobson, Evolution of Modern Capitalism, 325.

[20] MacGregor, The Evolution of Industry, 97. This has reference to England, but the Industrial Relations Commission Report shows this to be true, also of some of the industrial cities of this country, (1915).

[21] Description of a contemporary writer of England in the early nineteenth century, quoted in the Cambridge Modern History, Vol. 12, 23.

[22] For description of child and woman labor in England, read Bland, Brown, Tawney, English Economic History, 510 ff.; or Dunlop and Denham, English Apprenticeship and Child Laborers, Ch. 17.

times children worked from three o'clock in the morning to ten and later at night. In order to force them to work they were punished sometimes with the lash. Many of these children were under the age of six. They were even used in the mines as work horses to drag the coal from one part of the mine to another.[23] The factory system in America did not have the evil results that it had in England as far as women and children were concerned. However, contemporary descriptions show that long hours were customary and that conditions were in many cases extremely bad. "At Paterson, New Jersey, the women and children had to be at work at half past four, and sometimes were urged on by the cowhide."[24] In England the use of pauper apprentices made the system one of degradation. "They were harnessed to the brink of death with excessive labour; they were flogged, fettered, and tortured in the most exquisite refinements of cruelty. They were in many cases starved to the bone while flogged as they worked. . . . "[25] The long hours and the unsanitary conditions under which the children worked resulted in stunting them physically and mentally. They were unable to attend school and hence illiteracy and ignorance were the common thing. Another evil result was that it tended to lower the wages of the men and in many cases the father became dependent upon the wages of his child. The conditions under which women worked were hardly better than those of the children.[26] They also worked in the mines and in the factories.

[23] "The ordinary age at which children entered the mine was between eight and nine years old but they were employed even at four and six years old. A great deal of suffering was entailed by the different conditions under which the work was conducted. . . . and the primitive methods of distributing coal. The latter was often the work of boys and girls who were harnessed in the little trucks and sent to drag the coal from the miners to the wider openings."

[24] Ely, Evolution of Industrial Society, 59; also Ely, Labor Movement in America, 49.

[25] Compare Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Poem, The Cry of the Children:

"'For oh!' say the children 'we are weary,
And we can not run or leap,
If we cared for any meadows, it were merely
To drop down in them and sleep. . . '"

[26] "One of the most disgusting sights I have ever seen was that of young females, dressed like boys in trousers, crawling on all fours, with belts round their waists and chains passing between their legs. . . . . I visited the Hunshelf Colliery on the 18th of January; it is a day pit; that is there is no shaft or descent; the gate or entrance is at the side of the bank, and is nearly horizontal. The gate was not more than a yard high, and in some places not above two feet. When I arrived at the board or workings of the pit I found at one of the side-boards lower a narrow passage, a girl of fourteen years of age, in boy's clothes, picking down the coal with the regular pick used by the men. She was half sitting, half lying at her work, and said she found it tired her very much, and of course she didn't like it. The place where she was at work was not two feet high." Report Children's Employment Commission, Mines, 1842, Bland, Brown and Tawney, 517.

This had a very deleterious effect upon family life. It was shown by 1840 that through the introduction of the power-loom, a woman working with a power-loom could do twice as much work as a man. By 1895, it was estimated that the power-loom weaver could accomplish as much as forty good home weavers. Under the domestic system, women had been accustomed to work as assistants to their husbands and fathers. Now they were taken out of the home and worked in the factory with its bad conditions.

Another result of the factory system was the development of what has come to be known as *capitalism*. "Capitalism," [27] says a contemporary writer, "in the true sense in which we shall use the term, *exists only where such vast aggregations of capital are necessary to carry on a given line of industry, the workingmen become practically dependent upon the wealthy, capitalistic class.*" This has resulted in the development of social classes and with it a great deal of social discontent. Although in the United States it has been possible for the laborer to rise, to become a capitalist, in the more developed countries of western Europe this has not been as usual. The tendency has become more common for laborers and their children to remain in the class in which they were born. With it has come the great problem of the relation of capital to labor. The laborers have claimed that they have not received their due proportion of the return of their labor; that a larger proportion has gone to capital than to labor itself. Some of the evil results of capitalism have been, in the first place, the exploitation of labor.[28] The employment of women and children; [29] the use of the machine; the growing concentrations of capital in the hands of the few; these have resulted in forcing wages down in many cases to a mere subsistence level. A study of the United States made in 1904 shows that sixty per cent. of the males sixteen years or over working in industries of various kinds earned less than $626 a year; that about thirty per cent. earned between $626 and $1055; and that less than ten per cent. of the incomes were at least $1,000.

Capitalism.

Another evil result of capitalism has been the unjust distribution of wealth. W. I. King, in his study of statistics, in 1910 showed that even in the United States two per cent. of the population controls sixty per cent. of the wealth, while sixty-five per cent. only had five per cent. of the wealth. This has been one of the causes of the growing discon-

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[27] Ellwood, supra, 155.

[28] The growing power of the trades union has helped to lessen this evil.

[29] Factory legislation in Great Britain and the United States is limiting the hours of women and children.

tent of the laboring classes. A third result of capitalism has been the tendency of the investment of surplus capital in foreign lands. This has been described in a previous chapter.[30] One of the evil results that ought to be mentioned under the system of capitalism has been the growth of combinations of capital known in the United States as trusts and in Germany as *Kartels*. Although in many cases these combinations have lowered prices, in other cases they have resulted in the monopolization of industry. This tendency has resulted in both labor and capital becoming grouped into smaller, more compact units for purposes of government. In the case of labor it has resulted in the development of trades unions. When the factory system first arose in England, combinations of workers were forbidden by law. By 1824 these combinations in that country were legalized. They were not legalized in France until 1884. One of the hopes of the future is that with the development of employers' associations and employees' associations there may be a great tendency toward the harmonization of conflicting interests.[31]

The social problem then might be summarized as the common tendency of wealth to concentrate in the hands of a few; the fact that along with increasing wealth, there is still a continuance of poverty; the tendency of the growth of cities with its concomitant evils of the slum and congestion; the entrance of women and children into industries with resultant evils; the greater development of the social classes along with the increase of social discontent.

There are both good and bad sides to the shield. With increased wealth for the few there has also come increased wealth for the many; along with the evil of child and woman labor has been the growing legislation to remedy these evils. There has been a growing feeling in all classes of a common humanity. Cities are wiping out their slums and developing better government.

Throughout the civilized world, associations are being established to aid in eradicating the evils which have grown out of the complexity of modern industrial society. Social legislation is increasing rapidly in volume. Associations which were formerly called charity organizations now style themselves *Social Workers*. It is everywhere becoming realized that these problems are *social* problems, that is, problems of society and that society must work out for itself their cure. A different attitude is taken regarding the criminal.

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[30] See chapter on Imperialism.

[31] Compare chapters Labor and the War, the Development of Industrial Democracy and Labor's Peace Terms for measures to bring about more harmony between Labor and Capital.

Formerly revenge was the watchword. To-day, it is the aim of modern society to restore him, if possible, to normal life. Education is doing everything possible to remove illiteracy and ignorance. Where formerly it was thought that the individual was responsible for his welfare, to-day society says the state must interfere when necessary. Labor conferences such as the conferences called by President Wilson in 1919 show the trend of the times. In short, on all sides is seen a growing social consciousness and a growing social solidarity. The world has become much smaller than it was in the eighteenth century. Anything of importance is known the world over in a short period of time. This makes one hopeful that "the cry for social justice" will be answered and that the social problem will be solved and solved correctly.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Cheyney, Industrial and Social History of England, Chapter VIII.
Ellwood, The Social Problem.
Robinson and Beard, Outlines of European History, Ch. 12.
Robinson and Beard, The Development of Modern Europe, Ch. 18.
Hayes, Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. II, p. 67 ff.
Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary European History, Ch. 3.
See also list of Readings, Part VI, Chapter II.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN ENGLAND

It is very important to remember that the problems of democracy are still before us, unsettled except in part; that the nineteenth century, in England, France and America, was mainly busied in trying to work out more perfectly the organs through which democracy is to find expression. The century accomplished legislation which gave suffrage to all men alike; it saw steady progress made in education, though this educational problem is yet far from solved; it made a successful effort to humanize and democratize the courts of justice; and it enacted legislation looking toward child welfare, women's welfare, and the welfare of men, in the world of labor.

The First Problem of the New Democracy.

The first problem of a new democracy is to destroy the world wide suspicion of class against class, to build up a faith that will include all men and women, whether they delve in the mine, or toil in the field, or work at the forge, or direct others' work. One of the promising signs of a happy future for democracy is the faith of the workers, which is exemplified in many ways, and never better than in the faith shown by the common people in the great leaders of English democracy, William Gladstone and David Lloyd George. It is too soon to give judgment of this prophet and leader of the people, but something can be said of his characteristics and must be said of his work for democracy, for "Mr. Lloyd George is the most persistent democratic politician if not statesman in the British empire. His name is identified with democratic legislation, with democratic aspirations, with democratic methods in a way no other name is." [1] "Since the days when immense crowds were wont to congregate at railway stations on the off chance that Mr. Gladstone, the great tribune of the Victorian era, in passing through from London to Midlothian, might give the people a few minutes' talk, there has been no voice in British politics like that of Mr. Lloyd George to captivate the imagination and to hold the ear of the democracy." [2]

The work of Gladstone has already been discussed in the chapter on the growth of English Democracy. Mr. Gladstone was the idol of the people who knew him to be greater than kings for he was their

[1] Evans, B. G., in Fortnightly Review, V. 104, p. 890.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 884.

leader and saviour. The peoples' attitude toward these two men were very much alike especially in the period when George began his fight for social legislation starting with his great budget bill of 1909. Since then the difficulties of the Great War and the very nature of present problems have somewhat changed the attitude of hero worship with respect to Mr. Lloyd George.

Lloyd George and Democracy.

Lloyd George, born of Welsh parents in Manchester, on January 17, 1863, after the death of his father in 1866 was brought up by his mother and his uncle in Wales. In everything he is the simple democrat. Since he began as a young lawyer, his great purpose has been the defense of the people against the established order. In his methods of attack, his impetuosity, his daring, his audacity, he is like our own Roosevelt; in his consistent attachment to the ideals of democracy, he is like President Wilson, with whom, in fact, he held during the war the worship of the laboring classes everywhere. His leadership of the English people in the war has led to a comparison with Lincoln in his "humble birth," called because of his unique ability to lead the nation in its hour of peril. He like Lincoln is a representative of the people, thinking with them and laboring for their advancement. Like Lincoln he is endowed with a common sense amounting to genius and with a homely eloquence that carries conviction.[3]

In 1890 at the age of twenty-seven Mr. Lloyd George began his political career. He went to Parliament as a Liberal, but remained as an independent Liberal generally in opposition to the government, until in 1906 he became a member of the cabinet as president of the Board of Trade. As an administrator, Mr. Lloyd George has been as bold, as intelligent, as original and as faithful as when, a free lance, he was bent only upon the destruction of policies. In the Board of Trade he, as if inspired, laid the foundation of his work as minister of munitions. The work of making a great census of the country's resources and of putting this information all by for use of the future, was the everyday work of the office. Moreover, in doing it, he secured the confidence of both employer and employed which was so great an asset in the recent crisis. In every position, Mr. George has brought honesty of purpose together with absolute fearlessness and a genius for administration to his aid in an able effort to organize a constructive program; and whether he has been consistent or has wholly lacked consistency is not so important as the recognition that

[3] Independent, Feb. 26, 1917. This view of the Independent would probably be modified somewhat if written today and yet while Mr. Lloyd George has shown himself a great politician he still makes his appeal to the working masses.

he has won by both friends and foes, that he is making progress for democracy. As a war minister this was his real strength, that he had the confidence of all who loved democracy and liberty and the hope of those who yet sought them.

When in the first years of the present century England began her real advance in social legislation, that is, in trying to reorganize the ideas of the state to make them fit the larger conception of individual liberty and to work them out through the agency of all classes working together, she found one of her greatest difficulties in the House of Lords and its historical character and significance. In broadening the suffrage to include all classes in it, she had not touched nor changed in any appreciable degree the House, representing almost exclusively the aristocratic and conservative element of the kingdom. The first measure of significance was the Lloyd George Budget of 1909. This budget boldly grasped the new point of view, and in attempting to find an income to meet the increased needs of the state, attacked directly the income of the upper classes. When the budget was introduced, the Chancellor, Mr. Lloyd George, said: "The budget is introduced not merely for the purpose of raising barren taxes, but taxes that are fertile taxes, taxes that will bring fourth fruit. . . . It is rather a shame for a rich country like ours, probably the richest country in the world, if not the richest the world has ever seen, that it should allow those who have toiled all their days to end in penury and possibly starvation. It is rather hard that an old workman should have to find his way to the gate of the tomb, bleeding and footsore through the brambles of poverty. We cut a new path, an easier one, a pleasanter one, through fields of waving corn. We are raising the money to pay for the new road, aye, and to widen it, so that 200,000 paupers shall be able to join in the march. . . We propose to do more by means of the budget. We are raising money to provide against the evils and sufferings that follow from unemployment. We are raising money for the purpose of assisting our great friendly societies to provide for the sick, the widows, and the orphans. We are providing money to enable us to develop the resources of our own land. I do not believe any fair minded man would challenge the justice and the fairness of the objects which we have in view in raising this money. . . We are placing the burdens on the broad shoulders. Why should I put the burdens on the people? I am one of the children of the people. I was brought up among them. I know their trials, and God forbid that I should add one grain of trouble to the anxiety which they bear with such patience and fortitude."[4]

The Budget of 1909.

[4] Speech of Loyd George quoted in Dilnot's Lloyd George, pp. 83-84.

When Lloyd George was told that the landlord thought the tax unjust, he was moved to say: "The ownership of land is not merely an enjoyment, it is a stewardship. It has been reckoned so in the past, and if they cease to discharge their functions, which include the security and defense of their country, and the looking after their broken in their villages and neighborhood. . . . the time will come to reconsider the conditions under which land is held in this country." "I am told that no chancellor of the exchequer has ever been called on to impose such heavy taxes in time of peace. This, Mr. Emmett, (Speaker of House) is a war budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness." [5]

When the budget bill reached the House of Lords it was practically stopped by amendments which killed its usefulness. The prime minister, Mr. Asquith, thus summed up the situation and opened the case against the Lords: "I came here today not to preach a funeral oration. I am here neither to bury nor to praise the budget. . . As to its merits, no one appreciates them more sincerely than I do, but its slaughter has raised greater, graver, and more frightful issues. We have got to arrest the criminal. A new chapter is now being written for the sinister assembly which is more responsible than any other power for wrecking popular hopes, but which in my judgment, has perpetrated its last act of destructive fury. . . . Liberty owes as much to the foolhardiness of its foes as it does to the sapience and wisdom of its friends. At last the case between the peers and the people has been set down for trial in the great assize of the people, and the verdict will be given soon." [6]

The King was asked to dissolve Parliament at once and the new election returned to the Liberal party a majority of 124 votes. The question of the budget was then again presented to the Lords after the King had promised to create enough new peers to overcome the opposition, and after serious debate the bill was accepted. A measure was then introduced to take from the Lords their power to obstruct legislation.

On June 24, 1907, Sir H. Campbell Bannerman, then prime minister, presented the case for the Commons: "Sir, the House of Commons is spoken of by these instructors (the Lords) of the public in language of formal, guarded, traditional respect, but is treated as a wayward, impulsive body allowed to do useful work and on occasion to have its fling, but to be pulled up by the House of Lords as soon as it ventures upon the pet prejudices and interests of that which *used to be*

[5] Hayes, British Social Politics, p. 380.
[6] Speech of Mr. Asquith, quoted in Dilnot, Lloyd George, pp. 92-93.

the ruling class in this kingdom. Sir, we have not so learned our existing constitution. We have perfect confidence in the good feeling, the good sense, the wisdom, the righteousness and patriotism of our country. We need no shelter against them; and, therefore, we would invert the rôles thus assigned to the two Houses. Let the country have the fullest use on all matters of the experience, wisdom, and patriotic industry of the House of Lords in revising and amending and securing full consideration for legislative measures: but, and these words sum up our whole policy, the *Commons shall prevail.*" [7]

The debate in the Commons was exceedingly keen, participated in by most of the best known leaders of both parties. One of the strongest statements of the opposition was made by Sir William Anson representing Oxford, who defended the bicameral [8] organization of Parliament. ". . . You are practically proposing to make this a single chamber constitution. Are we in accord with the general experience in accepting a constitution of that kind? I will venture to say that there is no civilized government which has not secured itself in some way or other from rash or hasty legislation by the Popular Assembly, either by a written constitution, or by a referendum, or by a second chamber—by one of these three methods which are universally employed for protection against this undoubted risk. The object of a second chamber is to delay great changes until the will of the people has been permanently and conclusively ascertained." In a reference to the United States after calling attention to the bicameral idea of federal and state government, he added, quoting Mr. Bryce: "The need of two chambers has become an axiom of political science, based on the belief that the innate tendency of an Assembly to become hasty tyrannical, or corrupt, can only be checked by the coexistence of another House with equal authority." After a survey of the government of France and Australia, Mr. Anson summed up his case against the measure as being opposed to all the precedents of democratic governments, and doubted whether the people of England wanted the law. "Put this question plainly to the country; you will get a clear answer, and I have no doubt as to what that answer will be." [9]

The bill provided briefly, first, that a money bill sent to the House of Lords at least one month before the end of the session without amendment, should be presented to His Majesty and should become a law by act of Parliament on the royal assent, whether the Lords concurred or not unless the House directed otherwise; second, that bills

[7] Speech of Sir H. Campbell Bannerman, in Hayes, British Social Politics p. 448.

[8] Bicameral means two houses. Our Congress is bicameral.

[9] Hayes, British Social Politics, pp. 460-464.

other than money bills sent to the Lords at least one month before the end of the session if rejected by the Lords in three successive sessions, should then be sent to the King for his signature and should become law when his signature was given.

In the final vote in the House of Lords, the bill was accepted by a majority of seventeen on the question as to its amendment, and at the will of the people the Lords laid down as calmly as possible their power as guardian of the constitution. When this vote had been taken and the sovereignty of the Commons secured, the last barrier against the progress of democracy in social legislation was removed and England was fairly started on her way toward the interpretation of the duty of government as the protection and care of everything which includes the interests of the people. The laissez faire theory was laid aside as no longer the necessary rule of action and in its place was put the theory that the people, the whole people, who now constituted the authority of the state may and must legislate for the guarding of the interests of any unprotected groups. Henceforward there was to be no class legislation but legislation for all classes alike, worked out in sympathetic interest for the good of the whole.

The Two Party System.

"Without entering into a discussion of the matter, it may not be amiss at this point to suggest another possible difficulty in the British polity—the two party system. For many years every voting Englishman was identified, largely by reason of historical accident, with one of two parties—the Tory or Conservative Party, and the Whig or Liberal party. The two party system, whatever may be its advantages, has certain defects, as we in the United States know only too well,—a devotion to names rather than to principles, a traditional, almost hereditary, alignment of voters on important questions, and a loyalty to party often transcending loyalty to the nation at large,—and evidences of these defects are not lacking in English history. When one thinks of the party squabbles over protection and imperialism and Irish Home Rule, and of the time and energy spent in gaining some slight tactical advantage for a political party, he wonders whether the most successful operation of real democracy will not be through channels other than the two party system. At all events the group systems that prevail in Germany and in France, and that are now appearing in Great Britain do not seem to be barren of achievement." [10]

It hardly needed the Labor party in England to bring the older parties to a realization of England's need. The old House of Lords did not represent a party attitude so much as an historical landmark that

[10] Hayes, British Social Politics, p. 8.

stood in the busy square blocking the way of business just as one might say, perhaps, the old party system stands. But social reform in England has been largely the work of the Liberal party whose efforts the Labor party has seconded.[11] This position of the Liberal party has been well stated by Mr. Alden in his Democratic England:

"Without claiming too much for the new program which the Liberal party has put forward, this, at least, may be asserted with confidence, that it implies a desertion of the old individualist standard and the adoption of a new principle—a principle which the Unionists [12] call socialistic. It it be true that a positive policy of social reconstruction savours of socialism, then, of course, this contention can be justified. The main point is that the function of the State in the mind of the Liberal and Radical of to-day is much wider in scope than seemed possible to our predecessors.. . . . . As a matter of fact, the anomalies and injustices of our present social system have compelled even our opponents to introduce ameliorative legislation. But the Liberal of to-day goes further. He asks that such economic changes shall be introduced as will make it possible for every man to possess a minimum of security and comfort. Property is no longer to have an undue claim; great wealth must be prepared to bear burdens in the interests of the whole community. Our social system must have an ethical basis." [13]

It has been in this new spirit and attitude that the English Liberal party has gone forward in social legislation in recent times. The content of the social legislation is not great. The time has not been long in which to add to the content, but the spirit of the work has marked a revolution in English thought as it will ultimately produce a revolution in English economic and social life. In 1909 a workmen's compensation act was passed which established the liability of employers to workmen for injuries received while working for the employer. This bill was a fairly strong measure, although improvements were very quickly seen to be necessary. It provided that, in case of injury lasting beyond one week, the employer should pay compensation according to a schedule, from £150 ($750.00), for death to £ 1 per week for partial incapacity to work. The bill covered illness and disease contracted in employment and made the employer pay for illness or disease unless he could prove it was not contracted in his employment. Finally, it

Workmen's Compensation Act.

[11] Since the war the coalition cabinets have under George's leadership led the way in social legislation.

[12] Unionists or the Conservatives, so called because of their opposition to Irish Home Rule.

[13] Alden—Democratic England, pp. 5-7. Quoted in Hayes, British Social Politics, p. 3.

provided a scheme of arbitration for disputes and was made to cover both land and sea service and crown or government employment. This bill and law was the beginning of the application of the new theory of government suggested by Mr. Alden and was followed by a consistent reform schedule which has only been put off until the means are found to secure enough revenue to administer the suggested reforms.

The Trade Disputes Act which, while introduced after the Workmen's Compensation Bill was enacted into law, December 1906, gave greater freedom to the organizations of labor in their quarrels with capital and in 1911 was strengthened by an act to pay members of Parliament, in order not to exclude representatives of labor from participating in legislation.

The Trade Disputes Act.

In 1907 reforms looking toward child welfare were begun. When Victoria became queen, hardly a measure had been taken to preserve the welfare of the child and in 1907 progress had not gone far. In 1904 a parliamentary commission had issued a long report on child welfare measures. They suggested medical inspection, better housing measures, milk and food inspection and regulation, the teaching of hygiene, of home economics, of physical training and the supervision of play. The report was comprehensive and constituted a program toward which both England and the Unites States have consistently, though slowly, worked since 1905. Above all, this program was to be carried out by the state at its own expense.

Reforms for Child Welfare.

The Old Age Pensions Act was introduced in 1908 and became law in the same year. It was largely a party measure, with the Labor party aiding the Liberal government. The law provided for pensions to all persons over seventy years of age who could prove that for twenty years they had been British subjects and could satisfy the goverment that their income did not exceed thirty-one pounds, ten shillings. The act provided for the full retention of citizenship and was to apply to England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Scilly Islands. In 1911 the act of 1908 was amended, but the amendment had rather to do with the administration of the act than with its contents.

Old Age Pensions.

Early in 1909, a Workmen's Unemployment bill and a Sweated Labor bill were introduced and became laws the same year. The first act provided for government labor exchanges, while the second provided for Trade Boards for certain trades whose powers enabled them to establish a minimum rate of wages for such trades, to establish district trade committees with rights of supervision of the trade conditions and of recommendation to

Workmen's Unemployment Bill.

the Trade Board. The regulations of the trade board were to come up to the House of Parliament which could annul or amend them if it saw fit.

In the same year, 1909, a housing and town planning bill was introduced and became law. In the first part of the act on housing, the law was made to apply universally and authorized the local authorities to purchase land for building purposes and to borrow money from the government for the purpose, to enforce housing conditions on landmarks, to close unfit dwellings and demolish them, to inspect housing conditions, to prohibit back to back houses and report on crowded areas to the local government board. The town planning provision gave authority to the local government to provide plans for laying out towns where conditions seemed to require it and to submit such plans to the local government board which could accept or reject it. The act provided for a county public health officer and medical officers and a housing committee. The general aim was to provide better housing conditions or to give government aid by regular medical and public health inspection.

Housing and Town Planning Bill.

"Since the Liberal government came into power in 1906, they had promoted, as has been seen, a large number of social reforms, such as the protection of the legal rights of laborers and trade unions, assurance of child welfare, regulation of sweated labor, establishment of labor exchanges, old age pensions, housing and town planning schemes, and almost revolutionary tax arrangements. Their efforts, interrupted and possibly imperilled for a while in 1910, on account of the two general elections and the accompanying struggle to reduce the political power of the House of Lords, were put forth again in 1911 to secure the passage of what is perhaps the most important measure of social betterment ever introduced in the British Parliament—an act to provide for insurance against loss of life and for the prevention and cure of sickness and for insurance against unemployment." [14]

Accomplishments of Liberal Government.

Between 1908 and 1911, the Liberal party worked on various phases of the bill which was introduced early in 1911 and became law the same year. This act, unlike all the former ones, was supported by all parties. The Unionists wanted to go more slowly than the government wished, while the Labor group emphasized the fact that the bill attempted only to deal with sickness and unemployment when they were found instead of trying to prevent them by a more equitable distribution of wealth, and was therefore a curative rather than a preventive measure. In general, the act provided either compulsory or voluntary insurance against sickness and

Insurance Acts.

[14] Hayes, British Social Politics, p. 507.

unemployment, following in a general way the German plan. Both employee and employer were to contribute to the premium and the state was to supplement this payment. The benefits were to include medical relief, and allowance for the maintenance of worker and family during illness and unemployment. The sickness benefit was made to extend to cases of maternity and to consumption.

Irish Home Rule.

After the insurance bill of 1911 the government was mainly busy with Irish Home Rule, which became law shortly after the opening of the war but which was suspended during the continuance of the war and is yet awaiting the pacification of Ireland. The granting of woman suffrage came as a war measure though, unlike the majority of such measures, it was intended to be left in operation after the war.

Effect of War on Social Legislation.

With the war has come an added interest, a demand for social legislation. The position of the Labor party that in reconstruction "there shall be no patchwork but the reconstruction of society itself" points the way to the new endeavor. It is fortunate for Great Britain that the way had already been suggested for social reform. For, whatever the method or scope of the new plans and by whatsoever class or party they are promulgated, they have already received an impetus and a direction which will enable all classes to sympathize with and to understand and work for them.[15]

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR STUDY

1. The Lloyd George Budget
   Hayes, British Social Politics pp. 347 ff., 406 ff., Outlook, Vol. 92: 149.
2. The Parliament Act of 1911
   North American Review, Vol. 191, pp. 87-95.
   Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 98, pp. 790-796, Vol. 105, p. 128 ff.
   Hayes, British Social Politics, p. 421 ff.
3. The Land Problem.
   Schapiro, Ch. 14.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, Vol. II, 277-366.
Hazen, Europe since 1815, 460-517.
Robinson and Beard, Development of Modern Europe. Vol. II., 201-232.
Robinson and Beard, Outlines of European History Vol. II, Ch. 19.
Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary European Civilization, 324-398.
Cheyney, Social and Industrial History of England, pp. 244-260.

[15] This chapter was written too early to include the great advances made in social legislation since the peace of Versailles, but the attention of the student should be called to the work of the past two years in England as passing beyond any goal set by the same thinkers of the period prior to 1914.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN GERMANY

THE period from 1871 to the outbreak of the war was characterized by the increasing power of the urban working classes. As a result of this each important western European country passed laws to regulate the social conditions of the workers. This was particularly true of Germany. The war against France resulted in a tremendous economic development in that country. This economic progress has been the most remarkable of any country in history. There is nothing to compare with it in the ancient or modern world. Industrial development of Germany has been much later than that of Great Britain, France and the United States. The industrial revolution did not reach Germany until the middle of the nineteenth century, over one hundred years later than its origin in England. The same changes seem to take place in Germany that took place in the early nineteenth century in the latter country: the growth of city populations, the development of great manufacturing towns especially in the western part of Germany, the entrance of women and children into factory life and the resulting social unrest of the industrial classes. One of the results of social unrest in Germany was the development of socialism. Karl Marx, the father of the modern scientific socialism, was a German Jew. He had taken part in the revolution of '48 and was driven out of Germany and found refuge in England. There he came to study its industrial development and later published his famous work which is sometimes taken as the founder of modern socialism. In 1871 there were two socialist members of the Reichstag. By 1887 these had increased to twelve representing 500,000 votes. An attempt on the life of Emperor William I made in 1878 resulted in civil laws against the socialists. Moltke, the famous commander-in-chief of Germany in the Franco-Prussian war, declared them the enemy of God and society. By these laws the Government was allowed to prohibit public meetings; to suppress newspapers and books, to decide who was and who was not a socialist; what was and was not socialistic doctrine. Socialists could be even driven from their homes and whole districts placed under siege. In spite of these laws, the number of socialists increased. In 1913 the socialist party had 213 members in the Reichstag and had become the strongest single party. The result of the conflict between the state

Industrial Development of Germany.

Karl Marx.

and the socialists was that Bismarck made up his mind to kill socialism with kindness and his plans resulted in the social insurance laws of Germany introduced in 1881 and amended at various times until finally all were unified in one great law of 1911.

Comparison of Germany with Great Britain and the United States.

Germany was developed under the leadership of Prussia. In Prussia, the king had always been supreme and Prussia remained to the time of the unification of Germany a feudal state. The individual has always existed for the benefit of the state. The constitutions of Great Britain and the United States on the other hand are based upon the theory of individual rights and liberties. The Bill of Rights of 1689 in England and the first ten amendments to the American Constitution guarantee individual rights. Americans are peculiarly individualistic. Our individualistic ideas are due to a great extent to the character of the inhabitants in the past and to our unlimited opportunities for the development of the individual. Our incomparable natural resources have been one of the chief sources of our national wealth and our economic success. Our constitution has emphasized the individual. The theory of laissez-faire had its origin in England and has been copied in the United States.[1] Germany on the other hand has taken just the opposite attitude. It was a tradition in the Prussian state from the time of the Great Elector to care for the physical and social welfare of its people. Frederick the Great, said it was the duty of the State to support those who could not support themselves; to provide employment and to check idleness. In the early nineteenth century, Stein and Hardenberg emancipated the peasants and continued the tradition of the Prussian state of looking after the interests of the lower classes.[2] The law of England and of the United States has been based on the Common Law. Under the Common Law, in case of accident, the injured had to prove in the first place that the accident was due to no fault of his own. This is known in legal phraseology as the theory of "contributory negligence." This placed the burden of proof upon the worker rather than upon the employer. In the second place, the worker had to prove that in no way was a fellow employee to blame for the injury which he may have received. This theory is known as the "fellow servant" doctrine.

Bismarck and Social Legislation.

On Bismarck's assumption of power in 1863 he organized a great commission to study the conditions of the working classes; the right of organization into unions and the relations between employers and employees. Due to the political conditions he was

[1] The theory of laissez-faire teaches a doctrine of "let alone" or non-interference.
[2] Stein and Hardenberg were members of the Prussian ministry.

not able to pay much attention to these until later. Beginning about 1881 Bismarck had three ideas in his mind:—

1. To relieve taxes upon the workers.
2. To change the system of taxes and substitute direct for indirect.
3. To make taxes fall upon the employers and from them to carry the burden to the consumers. In 1880, Bismarck took over the cabinet position of Commerce and in November of the same year the Prussian economic council was organized. In this council the working class had a very important part. The German chancellor told the members of the council that they were to discover the changes and additions necessary in the laws to meet the needs of the times. Two problems were submitted to the council: first, insurance against accident; and second, the reorganization of corporations. A few years ago the imperial minister of the interior stated in the German Reichstag: "If Germany has experienced a vast industrial expansion equalled by no other country in the world during the same time, it is due to the efficiency of its workers, this efficiency must have suffered had we not secured to our working classes by the social legislation of recent years a tolerable standard of life, and had we not as far as possible guaranteed their physical health." [3]

In 1881 Emperor William in his speech from the throne stated that he had caused a bill for insurance of the working classes against the consequences of accidents. He continued by saying, "The apprehension that the socialist element might be introduced in the legislation if this end were followed should not deter us." And the Emperor also said that it was his "conviction that a cure to the social ills must be sought, not exclusively in the repression of social-democratic successes, but simultaneously in the positive advancement in the welfare of the working class." In 1884 in defending his insurance laws, Bismarck said "Give the workingman the right to work as long as he is healthy, assure him care when he is sick, assure maintenance when he is old. If you do that and do not fear the sacrifice, or cry out at State Socialism[4]—if the State will show a little more Christian solicitude for the workingmen, then I believe that the gentlemen of the Social-Democratic programme will sound their bird calls in vain. . . . yes, I acknowledge unconditionally a right to work, and I will stand up for it as long as I am in this place." (May 9, 1884).[5] Bismarck's aim in the first place was to establish these social insti-

[3] Quoted in Howe, Socialized Germany, 161.

[4] Bismarck in speaking of State socialism has reference to public ownership of such industries as the railroads. In this speech, he especially refers to the state giving insurance to the working classes.

[5] Robertson, Bismarck, p. 396.

tutions by the state and have them under control of the state and not the people. In the second place to weaken the power of the socialists, and in the third place he had a military aim in view, namely, by means of social insurance to develop men physically fit for the army and furthermore to cause the working classes to believe that their best interests lay in dependence upon the State. On March 18, 1881, a bill was introduced in the Reichstag which was restricted to accident insurance. This was the first bill of the kind that any modern country had proposed. The owners of factories and mines or other industrial establishments were obliged to insure their workingmen against industrial accident either in the imperial insurance department or in mutual insurance associations. This law was accepted but the Reichstag refused to furnish the money necessary to carry it out. In 1882 two new measures, one against accident and one against sickness, were introduced. The latter law was passed in 1883 and the former went into effect October 1885. On June, 22, 1889, an insurance law for old age and invalidity was passed to become effective January 1, 1891. Various amendments were passed to these laws from 1889 on, and on July 18, 1911, they were all unified into one law containing over two thousand articles.

The Sickness Insurance Act of 1883.

The Sickness Insurance act had reference to persons employed in factories, mines, quarries, and certain other industrial establishments. Only those who received less than two thousand marks (formerly about $500) came under this law. Gradually this act was extended to a large number of workers. In 1911 the law was extended to the agricultural workers, teachers, and state employees of various kinds. The factory employers paid one-third and the workingmen two-thirds. The employer's paid the entire amount of the insurance and deducted the employee's portion from his wages. The funds were administrated by boards made up of both employers and employees. By this law, the German empire established free medical and surgical treatment, hospital or home care, burial money in the event of death, and a sick allowance amounting to one-half (in some instances three-fourths) of the wages the beneficiary has been accustomed to receive and beginning the third day of sickness.

The accident insurance law at the beginning had reference only to a few dangerous trades. Later it was extended to all workingmen and to all inferior governmental officials whose yearly salary was not more than 5,000 marks. The scale of compensation is determined by law. Compensation includes free medical attention and a cash benefit during injury. In case of death, the insured received a large portion of his previous year's salary.

On January 1, 1891 was passed an invalidity and old age insurance act. This act compelled all workers over sixteen to insure against old age and invalidity. The worker and employer paid the necessary premiums jointly. To this the State added $12.50 for every pensioner. "In order to enjoy old age insurance, persons must have made their prescribed contributions to the fund; they must have been members for a certain length of time and have either become disabled or reached their seventieth year." [6] The amount that was paid in case of old age or invalidity was very small ranging from $27.50 to $60 a year. In 1908 some fourteen million persons were insured against sickness; almost twenty-four million against accident; and nearly sixteen million against old age and invalidity. Professor W. J. Ashley, the English economist, says in discussing Germany before the war that two-thirds of all the wage earners of the people in Germany are insured against sickness; that thirteen out of every sixteen wage earners have a right to a small pension in case of permanent incapacity or upon reaching the age of seventy; that of the sickness insurance about one-third is borne by the employer; and of the old age insurance two-fifths, by the employer. The result of these laws has been that to a great extent poverty prior to the World War had been banished from the German Empire. It accounts, in some measure, for the loyalty to the Fatherland of the working class prior to the war. Although a great portion is borne by the worker the fear of old age or incapacity has been taken from his mind. Other European countries have copied Germany in this insurance legislation. The United States has only within a decade or two come to introduce in its separate states accident insurance. Health insurance is being discussed but old age pensions have no existence in any states of the Union. [7]

The Unemployment Problem in Germany.

In order to prevent unemployment, Germany has established in every industrial city labor exchanges. These are clearing houses for skilled and unskilled labor. In Berlin prior to the war one hundred thousand positions were filled annually by these labor exchanges. Rooms were furnished where the unemployed men might obtain food and lodging for a small cost. Information was given regarding the positions of labor throughout the entire empire and in case of necessity the worker was sent at the cost of the state to that district where his particular kind of work is

[6] Howe, Socialized Germany, 198.

[7] It is probable that less need for social insurance exists in the United States than in European countries as there are far greater social and educational opportunities for children of workingmen. This is especially true in those portions of the United States where manufacturing is not carried on a great scale.

needed. During his unemployment, as stated above, the worker might remain at these lodging houses until he should obtain a position. This did away with the danger of developing a shiftless, wandering working class. Some of the cities of Germany have established municipal unemployment insurance.

Unemployment insurance has not been established for the empire as a whole. Some of the reasons for this have been the opposition of the employing class for fear that it might increase the power of the trade unions and the agricultural interests who claimed that their workers had no need for that kind of insurance. Another reason was the fact that it did not seem possible for the government to finance such an undertaking. Great Britain has gone one step further than Germany in having established unemployment insurance. Another means of caring for the unemployed has been the establishment of labor colonies. There were some forty of these in the empire and they were particularly for the worker who is unable to take care of himself due to drink or some other cause. Existence in these colonies is entirely voluntary. A large portion of the men who live in these colonies have been criminals. These colonies have sent back to public life many individuals who otherwise might have become a burden to society.

Industrial Courts.

Special courts have been furnished in Germany to protect the working class. They are conducted jointly by employers and employees through representatives selected by them. They are presided over by a president who does not belong to either class. The jurisdiction of the courts has reference not only to disputes between workers and employers but to trouble between different workers of the same employer. "Disputes over wages, contracts, payments, and sometimes discharge without notice are the most useful classifications which come before these courts." [8] Lawyers are not allowed to appear before courts. The parties in dispute must appear personally or must be represented by individuals who themselves are subject to the jurisdiction of the court. Appeals may be taken from decisions of the industrial courts to regular courts but only when the amount is 100 marks or over. Strikes and industrial difficulties are brought before these courts. In 1908 there were in Germany 469 industrial courts which dealt with some one hundred thousand cases. A German economist in writing of these courts says: "By its friends, indeed, the industrial court law is considered as the Magna Charta of the German workman. In this court, the labor world of Germany has for the first time found an effective instrument

[8] An interesting experiment is the recent establishment of the Kansas Industrial Court (1921.)

for the prevention of wage reductions and other violations of the labor contract. There is no state institution," he adds, "to which workmen cling with more love or with warmer admiration."

Vocational education is carried on in trade schools which fit for various industrial trades. There are also schools which fit the boy for higher education in commercial subjects. In addition to these schools, Germany has compulsory continuation schools. In these schools certain hours are prescribed in which the boy must be excused from work in order to attend school. Before the war all the large cities of Prussia had inaugurated continuation schools and most of the other large cities of the empire had followed her example. The United States consul at Magdeburg says of the continuation school: "One of the aims of the industrial school is to give the youth such instruction in language, government, civic affairs, industrial laws, business customs, trade practices, hygiene, sanitation etc., as to fit him to be an efficient employer or self-dependent workman, an intelligent citizen, and a capable member of society." [9] These continuation schools and other vocational schools have for their primary purpose the training of skilled workers. The education act of Great Britain of 1918 has introduced the continuation school.

Vocational Education.

Germany has enacted laws for the development of agriculture and for commerce. Before the close of the present war the King of Prussia was the largest single mine holder in that kingdom. Of the revenues of Bavaria, forty per cent. came from industrial undertakings. Prior to the war the railroads in Germany were owned by the individual states. Bismarck said in regard to the railroads, "The railroads are intended rather to serve the requirements of trade than to render profit to their owners." Canals have been built in order to facilitate commerce. In 1909 the government began to tax increasing land valuation. One-tenth to three-fifths of the increased value is taken by the state. It is rather interesting to know that this tax was favored by every party in parliament and also that the tax was introduced into parliament by the conservatives. In many cases the cities of Germany have become land owners. The city bought over one thousand acres of land from 1891-1901 and has used the sale of this land as a means of improving the city. It has been the policy of the German government to have the working classes as far as possible own their own homes. Coöperation has received a great development in Germany. Through its coöperative banking systems in the agricultural communities and through its wage-saving banks in the cities it has brought about a great saving of money to the country. In England the pop-

[9] Quoted in Howe, Socialized Germany, 236.

ulation puts $15,000,000 per year in the saving banks. In Germany prior to the war the working class saved annually $175,000,000. The German government has realized that municipal government should divorce itself from state and federal government.

Some lessons might be learned from Germany. One is that the economic advancement of any people is as much dependent upon the character and conditions of its laborers as upon its amount of capital or natural resources; and second, that in order to have loyalty, the people must be content with social conditions. The United States might take leaves from the book of Germany in extending social insurance where needed, vocational and continuation schools, and in divorcing municipal government from federal government. One danger that might ensue from the extension of social insurance is the fact that the more the state interferes with the life of the individual the greater likelihood there is of the loss of liberty to the individual. The trouble with Germany has been that the individual only existed for the sake of the state. The great problem of the world of the future is to maintain individual liberty with proper safeguards and yet not permit the individual to infringe upon the rights of others. This means that the state in the future will have to have a larger part in the life of the individual. The individual and his personality must always be considered but it also should be remembered that his development is for the common good. The laissez-faire theory must pass out of the window into the limbo of outworn ideas. This does not mean the adoption of the extreme policy of state control and ownership. It means that individual liberty must be protected through the advancement of the general welfare.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Howe, Socialized Germany, pp. 161-207, 231-264.
Dawson, Evolution of Modern Germany, pp. 135-169.
Ogg, Social Progress in Contemporary Europe, pp. 246-263.
Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary Europe, p. 292 ff.
Hayes, A Political and Social History of Europe, Vol. II, pp. 410-415.
Robinson and Beard, Outlines of European History, pp. 344-348.

CHAPTER IV

LABOR AND THE WAR

At the beginning of the war there was a great deal of industrial unrest in Great Britain and this industrial unrest continued for some time after the establishment of war. Great numbers of the members of labor unions enlisted in the army, particularly miners, and that brought about the introduction of unskilled workers and women in many industries and resulted in the trade union workers feeling that conditions might not be improved and might be worse after the war than they were before.

Labor Conditions in Great Britain during the War.

In order to speed up production in every way, the British government through representatives of the cabinet, made an agreement March 19, 1915 with the leaders of the large labor unions by which the latter, as representatives of labor, agreed to give up many of the rules and regulations which the trade unions had gained through a long number of years and further promised that the skilled laborers would do everything possible to win the war. This agreement on the part of labor in Great Britain included the permission to use unskilled labor and women to do work formerly done by skilled workers; the use of piece work instead of time work; the increase in hours of labor and the use of machinery; in short "the abolition of all artificial restrictions on output; and the suspension of all demarkation regulations." The government, on its part, guaranteed to restore all the rules and regulations existing prior to the war.

On July 14 to 21, 1915, the miners of South Wales voted by 2-1 a vote for a strike. Lloyd-George spoke to the miners July 19, 1915 at Cardiff, Wales. A conference of these interested in coal mining was called by him and figures were quoted showing that 250,000 enlistments had caused a decrease of 3,000,000 tons of coal monthly. The men demanded a 20 per cent. increase in wages and received a 17½ per cent. increase in the standard wage. This strike affected some 200,000 men. It is important because it was the first attempt to enforce the Munition of War act which gave the government power to prevent strikes in industries necessary to the completion of the war. The engineers on the Clyde river struck in 1915 and over 10,000 men were out. The employees felt they were not getting enough of the share of the war profits. Munition workers, railway men, dock laborers, and others went on a strike. Strikes were less frequent in 1916 than in 1915 and less frequent in 1917 than in 1916. *This was due to the realization on the part of labor of the real character of the war*; to the fact that machin-

ery had been set up by the government to settle differences between employer and employee. Finally a High Commission was appointed to make a study of the conditions and to recommend methods of relieving the industrial unrest. On the 12th of June 1917 the Prime Minister appointed eight commissions to examine into the causes of industrial conditions in the various parts of the United Kingdom. Among the causes stated for social discontent were:—

Causes for Social Discontent.

1. The high cost of food. The belief among the laboring class that the rise in prices was due to manipulation by speculation rather than to normal causes.

2. Housing conditions. The influx of munition and other workers into the cities causing congestion. The commission recommended that proper interurban street car facilities would enable workers to be transported to the country.

3. The inflexible character of the rules established by the government in many industries. The lack of the personal freedom of the worker due to the fact that he was tied to particular industries and could not change his place of residence or his position.

4. Skilled workers could not obtain as much pay as unskilled.

5. The machinery of the government was very slow in settling labor disputes.

6. Industrial fatigue. The workers complained of long hours, Sunday, over-time and continuous work.

7. The inconsiderate treatment of women workers. In some industries the wages of women workers were less than $4.00 a week. The unions felt that employers were using the war to break down trade unionism.

8. The feeling on the part of workmen that the workmen's compensation act was inadequate for war conditions.

Among the recommendations of these commissions were (1) establishment of maximum food prices, any losses to be paid for by the state; (2) the establishment of labor councils to adjust disputes between employers and employees; (3) the establishment in large industrial concerns of shop committees to look after the welfare of employees; (4) the guaranty of security of employment to workmen; (5) the establishment of trades union and employers organizations; (6) the shorter working day. At the beginning of the war in many industries men worked as many as fourteen to sixteen hours a day. There was a danger due to the war conditions of the abolition of the labor legislation which labor had gained prior to the war; (7) better housing conditions.

Recommendations of Commissions.

Prior to the war, housing conditions in Great Britain were shown

to be in an extremely wretched state. It was shown in 1901 that two-thirds of London lived in tenements of less than four rooms; that one-fifth of the people of Glasgow lived in one room dwellings and more than one-half of the population lived in dwellings which had not more than two rooms each. Similar conditions were found in nearly all the leading industrial cities of Great Britain. Before the war, acts had been passed by which the government could loan money to prospective house-owners. The Housing, Town Planning Act of 1909 permitted the Local Government Board to purchase land for the building of such houses and arrange that these loans should have a period of eighty years to run.

The Defense of the Realm Act of March 16, 1915 gave the government power to take possession of any unoccupied land for the purpose of housing workers engaged in the production of war materials. This act was amended September 29, 1917 to prevent war workers from being ejected from their dwellings as long as they paid their rents regularly. The prime purpose of this amendment was to prevent workers from being forced to move and as a result prevent stability and permanency in the supply of workers. It was recommended by the royal commission that one million houses costing over $1,000,000,000 should be immediately built. The government made provisions for the absorption of the unearned increase in land values and a general movement against tenements as a permanent institution was begun. Garden cities were to be established and houses built for the working classes, these houses to be owned by the worker under a coöperative system; (8) improvement of educational facilities; establishment of continuation schools; the giving of courses on the responsibility of citizenship and the establishment in every industrial center of courses in economics and industrial history of the industry prevailing in that particular locality; (9) profiteering. All excess profits to be appropriated by the government. (10) The right of free speech. Some of the commissions reported permanent and temporary causes for social unrest. Among the permanent causes reported by the commissions were:—

I. Economic Causes

A. Decrease in the buying power of wages.

B. The adoption by the workers of a theory that wages should be based on a satisfactory standard of living; that the worker should share in the prosperity of their particular industry.

C. The adoption by a section of the workers of the fallacious theory that the restriction of output is to the interests of the labor class.

D. The increase of wages to one class in a particular industry has shown a disparity of wages to other classes causing discontent.

E. The machinery for settling disputes and fixing rates of wages has been slow and unsatisfactory.

F. Refusal on the part of some workers to join unions.

G. Unsympathetic attitude of some employers towards labor unions.

H. General economic causes:

(1) Railroad workers opposed to the long hours of labor.

(2) Unemployment of dock and similar labor.

(3) Employment by British ships of cheap Chinese labor.

II. Social Causes

A. Belief on the part of some workmen that capital and labor were enemies.

B. Congestion in cities on account of bad housing conditions.

C. Poor facilities for recreation and education.

III. Political Causes

The influence of radical political leaders has permeated the entire trade union movement. The indisposition of some employers to better conditions has helped the propaganda of the radical labor leaders

IV. Temporary Causes

A. The feeling that certain classes of people were exploiting the rest at the expense of labor.

B. The lack of belief on the part of some of the workingmen in the promises of the government.

C. Great disparity between the wages of skilled and unskilled workmen.

D. The nervous strain produced by overwork.

E. The restriction of individual liberty necessary to carry on the war.

F. Lack of co-ordination by the government departments.

The Commissions recommended among other changes the following:—

Recommendations of the Commissions.

I. That a new spirit of partnership was needed based on the principle that the worker should be more closely identified with the control of the industry in which he is engaged and that employment should be guaranteed and that there should be no dismissal without the consent of the workers themselves.

II. That trade unions and employers' organizations should be mutually established.

III. That conciliation boards and industrial councils be formed.
IV. That casual employment be abolished.
V. That a shorter working day be planned.

The commissions in their own language say that it was necessary that a new and more humane spirit should be established; that industry should be controlled by more humane and ethical considerations; that "the problem is fundamentally a human and not an economic problem." In order to harmonize relations between employees and employers the joint industrial councils known as the Whitley councils were established.[1] As discussed in a previous chapter these councils were made up of representatives of labor and capital and the public. In every industry there were established works' committes or shops' committees to discuss the conditions in each factory, and district and national councils for the trade as a whole. Since the close of the war the prime minister, Mr. Lloyd George, has called an industrial congress made up of delegates representing both employers and employees.

On July 2, 1915, the Munitions of War Act established a centralized labor policy. Strikes were forbidden in munition plants and in all industries engaged in production of war material. The Minister of Munitions might put any establishment under the control of the government.[2] By means of the industrial councils when any trouble arose in a particular industry the question under discussion would be referred to the council in the local industry; an appeal might then be taken to the district and national councils. The result was that during the war, industry was carried on at its maximum efficiency. Strikes were prevented and anything that might have delayed the successful completion of the war was thus eliminated. British industrial history during the war shows that one of the methods to bring about industrial harmony would be the establishment of similar industrial councils after the war.

Munitions of War Act

During the war a commission of six employers appointed by the secretary of labor of the United States visited Europe for the purpose of studying labor conditions in Great Britain, France and some of the other European countries. This commission made a report under

[1] For the Whitley Councils, see International Conciliation Bulletin, 135.

[2] This act was amended in 1916 and again in 1917. The amended act empowered the Minister of Munitions to give such directions as thought necessary "for the purpose of the maintenance or increase of output." It gave him the power to decide in regard to pay of war workers and even to control war establishments if deemed necessary by him.

nine headings. They stated in brief that employers in Great Britain found it advantageous to bargain collectively with labor; that such bargaining should be between employers' associations and trades unions; that workingmen in Great Britain believed that changes would be slow and that even the most radical of the workers were opposed to social revolution of any kind; that the government and conservative employers and employees were agreed that coöperation between labor and capital is desirable; that "a new era is being fostered by widely varied elements of Great Britain's industrial system."

Another lesson that was learned from the labor conditions in England was the effect of industrial fatigue. In September 1915 a commission was appointed by Lloyd George to consider the question of industrial fatigue, hours of labor, and other matters affecting the personal health and physical efficiency of workers in munition factories and work shops. This commission reported on April 8, 1918. It stated in its report that there was a direct relation between fatigue and ill health and industrial efficiency. It also discussed the industrial employment of women. It reported regarding hours of labor. At the beginning of the war men were employed as many as ninety hours per week and women for as many as seventy hours per week. The experience of Great Britain showed that shorter hours in such industries as munition-making resulted in a greater production.[3] It was shown that women working fifty hours a week would produce as much as women working sixty-six and seventy-five hours a week. The commission stated that Sunday and night work was unprofitable that night work for women and boys should be entirely eliminated. They also found that by granting holidays and making as far as possible intervals between shifts that the efficiency of the worker was increased. They discussed the question of food and sickness and ill health and showed their result on industrial efficiency.[4]

British Labor and the War.

During the war a new constitution of the British labor party was established and members of coöperative societies and individuals who were not members of trades unions were permitted membership. In a previous chapter[5] the attitude of British labor toward international relations has been discussed.

[3] This was true only of industries carried on in great plants where the worker used machines. It would not have been true in such an industry as farming.

[4] The entire report on the subject of Industrial Health and Efficiency may be found in U. S. Department of Labor Bulletin 249; also Bulletins 221 and 230 discuss this topic.

[5] Part 1, chapter 4, Labor's Peace Views.

The British Labor party early in 1918 drew up its program of reconstruction. It states that the four pillars of the house of labor are:

(1) Universal enforcement of a national minimum.
(2) The democratic control of industry.
(3) The revolution in national finance.
(4) The use of surplus wealth for the common good.

Reconstruction Program of British Labor Party.

Under (1) they demand the universal establishment of a national minimum of leisure, health, education, and subsistence; that social insurance against unemployment should be guaranteed; that the population should be re-housed and that a million new cottages should be built. Under (2) the democratic control of industry, the labor party opposed continuance of military service longer than absolutely necessary, asking abolition of the House of Lords and the establishment of democracy in industry as well as in government. It insisted on the immediate nationalization of railroads, mines, and the production of electric power. It favored the regulation of the liquor traffic. Under (3) the revolution of national finance, the labor party stood "for a system of taxation as will yield all the necessary revenue to the government without encroaching on the prescribed national minimum standard of life of any family whatsoever; without hampering production or discouraging any useful personal effort and with the merest possible approximation to equality of sacrifice." It strenuously opposed taxation of any kind which would result in the increase of cost of any necessities of life. It advocated increase in taxes on income, inheritance, and on the unearned increase of land values. (4) Under the surplus for the common good it suggested the use of this surplus money gained by taxation for the education of all; for public provision for the weak and infirm of all kinds; for the establishment of "scientific investigation in original research, in every branch of knowledge, not to say also for the promotion of music, literature, and fine art." It further stated that the Labor party was opposed to protective tariffs of all kinds and imperialistic ideas. [6]

In the campaign of December, 1918, the Labor party ran 400 candidates. It issued "Labor's Call to the People" in which it demanded among other things:—the restoration of civil and industrial liberties; land nationalization, the immediate construction of a million homes at public expense, complete adult suffrage and a heavy graduated tax on capital. The coalition party made up of Liberals

[6] The student must remember that this program is a political platform for the purpose of gaining votes, and, as such, is ideal rather than practical. No doubt the leaders of the Labor Party had no idea that the entire program could be realized in the near future, at least.

and Unionists supporting Lloyd George the prime-minister elected 472 members and the Labor party 65 members. Due to the refusal of the Sinn Feiners of Ireland to sit in the British Parliament the Labor party became the second party in Parliament. In the campaign not over 60 per cent. of the registered voters took part in the election. Since that election labor has won thirteen of the twenty-eight London boroughs which go to make up the city of London and has elected mayors in sixteen cities and boroughs in Great Britain. The Labor party has also increased in membership and has gained several seats in Parliament. [7]

British Labor Since the War.

Since the close of the war, the promise of a great labor advance heralded in Labor's New Social Order has not materialized. Labor has not shown the proper understanding of international questions. British labor did not play its part in the making of the peace treaty. It showed that it was unready to play its part; that it had no real understanding of foreign questions. It has failed in several strikes notably the railway strike which threatened to tie up all of Britain's commerce. British labor has never been revolutionary and all predictions that it would be have failed. If any great changes take place in the industrial situation in Great Britain they will be a process of slow, evolutionary growth and not due to any sudden revolutionary outburst. "The central fact about Britain is the immense sanity of her people. That sanity is compounded of a rich though deeply hidden sense of humor which saves the possessor from fanaticism and from pushing human affairs to a logical conclusion; of an instinct for political compromise, which carries the mass along in a natural unity. . . ."

The British workers do not expect to build a new world in a day; they realize that present society is a process of slow growth and that change when it comes must come slowly. When change comes it "will be made in British fashion by conciliation, compromise and constitutional methods."

Labor in France During the War.

Prior to the war labor in France was organized in two groups, the *bourses du travail* and the General Confederation of Labor. The former came into existence as a result of the law of 1884 legalizing labor unions. In each city of France is a general labor exchange which is headquarters for all the local trades unions made up of the various trades. Those labor exchanges were united into a federation and in 1902 was organized the General Confederation of Labor. Each unionist belongs to the local labor ex-

[7] Since 1919, the Labor party has not obtained the expected increase in members in the British Parliament due to the extremely radical attitude of some of the larger unions, notably the Miners' Union.

change and his union is represented nationally in the General Confederation of Labor. The General Confederation of Labor is a general council of the local trades union. Union of councils of local trades unions forms the General Confederation of Labor which instead of advocating peaceful methods, stands for extremely radical methods such as the general strike, *sabotage*, etc. However, all attempts to accomplish their aims by such methods have failed.

With the advent of the war, labor rallied to the side of the government. Several members of the war cabinet had been former socialists. Millerand the present prime minister of France (1920),[8] Briand,[9] Viviani, Thomas, and Guesde had belonged to various socialist organizations. The most radical pacifist of France, Hervé, became one of the strongest advocates of the war, thus showing that national patriotism, on the eve of a crisis in the life of the French nation, rallied all classes to the support of the government.

Industrially, before the war, France was backward as compared with some of the other European countries, notably Great Britain and also our own country. There were over six million landed proprietors out of a total population of forty millions. The individual character of French industry is illustrated by the fact that hand-looms equalled in number one-third of all the cotton-power looms in the whole country. The loss of Alsace-Lorraine with its coal and iron mines prevented the development of industry on a big scale as in Germany. The regaining of that territory by the war and the occupation of the Saar valley will witness a transformation of industry in France.

During the war, several industrial commissions were sent to France by industrial leaders of the United States and by our government to study industrial and labor conditions in that country. One of the commissions was the American Industrial Commission to France sent by the American Manufacturers' Export Association in the fall of 1916. It has published its report to the American Manufacturers' Export Association. It was made up of several industrial experts. In its report [10] it states that in time of peace there was a great shortage of labor in France. This was supplied by Italians, Spaniards, Belgians, and Portuguese.[11] The war situation made things

[8] Today M. Millerand has become the president of France.

[9] Briand has become a successor to Millerand as prime minister of the French cabinet.

[10] See Franco-American Trade September-October, 1916, Report to the American Manufacturers' Export Association by the Industrial Commission, to France, Chap. VII.

[11] A report of U. S. Consul Tracy Law published in Reports of the Department of Commerce, May 3, 1919 states that before the war 650,000 foreigners were brought into France annually.

worse. The act mobilizing the army called to the colors all able bodied men between the ages of 18 and 47. Later, skilled workers in many cases were transferred from the front to carry on their former trades. In some of the great munition plants 30-50 per cent. of the workers were women. Unskilled labor was also obtained from the French colonies and from northern Africa and Indo-China. This report further states that the average working day of French workers for adult male workers was ten and one-half hours a day, night work being carried on by two shifts. It was found, however, that this was not a good arrangement for the men and a very bad one for women. "It seems established that women working on a two-shift basis are not as efficient after five or six months as when on a three-shift basis;" that the women worked better on an eight hour basis with an allowance of one-half to three-quarters of an hour at the end of each four-hour period. Women worked in all sorts of industries. They acted as motormen and cab drivers and even showed remarkable skill in heavy work in steel plants, running large machines such as lathes.

The French Ministry of Munitions under date of July 1, 1917 issued a decree that women under 18 should not be employed between the hours of nine at night and five in the morning, that women under eighteen should not be employed in dangerous work; that one day of rest each week, preferably Sunday should be established. This report further states that constant standing in one position is forbidden; nursing rooms; dressing rooms; shower baths and lunch rooms must be established. At the close of the war there was a decrease by over half of the number of women employed in industry.

Another commission sent to France was the National Civic Federation. It has also published its conclusions regarding the labor situation in Great Britain and France.[12] In regard to the Socialist party in France, it states that in 1913 it had 100 deputies in the lower house of the French parliament. It had in 1918, 35,793 paid up members; April, 1919, 57,000; June 30, 1919, 84,567; and at the close of 1919, it was estimated that the paid up members of that party would be 125,000. This report deals mainly with conditions in France since the war.

In order to prevent disputes in industries in which war work was carried on, the Ministry of War issued a decree stating that employers and employees engaged in munition plants were forbidden to break contracts until the question at issue should be submitted to arbitra-

[12] The Labor Situation in Great Britain and France. The Commission on Foreign Inquiry of the National Civic Federation, 1919. This organization is made up of representatives of capital, labor and the public; its purpose is to study the industrial situation in this country.

tion; a permanent commission of conciliation and arbitration should be appointed by the ministry of war made up of four men not subject to the draft. The question at issue must be prepared by employer or employee appointed by twenty of his fellow workers. The arbitration commission must meet and render decision within twenty-four hours. If an employer refused to abide by decision, the factory might be taken over by the government; if the employees, they could be sent into army service.

It was found that the use of alcoholic liquors lessened production. Report of the French commission on manual labor showed that indulgence in alcoholic liquor was the cause of a large percentage of absence from work; that in the coal mines absence amounted from 13 per cent. to 14 per cent. of possible days of labor. The law of March 8, 1917 forbade the carrying of spirituous liquors to be drunk on the premises into any establishment subject to certain rules. This law was to continue a year after the cessation of hostilities. In certain districts, absolute prohibition of liquor was established during the war.

April, 9, 1918 a law was passed granting special benefits to pensioned soldiers or their widows for the purpose of obtaining small farms. They were given by this law (1) lower rates of interest—1 per cent. as against 3.5 per cent under previous laws; (2) exemptions from the requirement of a first cash payment of 20 per cent. of the value of the property to be purchased; (3) the right to purchase a small holding up to 10,000 francs ($1,930) regardless of the size of the holding; (4) a period of twenty-six years in which to pay the loan by small installments, provided the borrower was not over sixty years of age at the time of his last payment.

French Labor Since the Armistice.[13]

As early as November 13, 1917, the Minister of Labor prepared for demobilization after the war. He asked on that date for a mixed commission in each department[14] "to consider methods of demobilization most favorable to the resumption of economic life." Early in 1918 plans were proposed. The Ministry of Commerce and the members of the National Assembly[15] proposed that an industrial census giving the economic needs and resources of the country should be taken. The Minister of Munitions arranged that questions should be sent out regarding the stock and equipment of war industries. The Minister of War planned that from each soldier should be learned the condition under which he had lived in civil life, his home, his occupation, etc. Many ques-

[13] The Peace Terms of French Labor are discussed in Part I Chapter 4, Labor's Peace Views

[14] A department in France corresponds roughly with a state in this country.

[15] The National Assembly is the French parliament.

tions arose regarding the character of demobilization. The Ministry of Munitions immediately after the armistice became the Ministry of Industrial Reconstruction. The minister made plans regarding unemployment, having conferences with labor delegates. It was agreed that all men leaving war work in munition factories should receive a discharge bonus equal to twenty days' pay; that unemployed persons were to receive for a certain period allowances for their dependents. The Minister of Reconstruction arranged for the charge of factories from war to peace purposes; that women workers should be kept after the war for part time work; that private factories engaged in war work should be given orders for goods needed in reconstruction; that production should be increased in every way possible; that work should be given on public works to tide over the period of unemployment; and that during this period unemployment benefits should be paid to the families of discharged soldiers. These plans show that France realized the necessity of organizing "the labor market so as to help as soon as possible the men, who must not become loafers after having been the liberators of civilization." In Paris arrangements have been made for better housing of the industrial population by the establishment of garden cities.

April 23, 1919, the eight hour day was made compulsory in all industries in France. This law has had the effect of bringing the employer and employee together. In the past there had been little coöperation between employer and employees. In one industry, the workers agreed to maintain production and to avoid restriction upon output and the employers have agreed not to cut wages.

Since the war there have been strikes among the clerks in banks and other commercial houses. This has caused much surprise both among employers and workers in other industries.

In the election for the lower house of the French parliament, November, 1919, the Socialists suffered a marked loss. Prior to the war, the united Socialist parties had 101 members in the Chamber of Deputies (the lower house of the French parliament). In the recent election, they only chose some fifty-five members. This is accounted for by the fact that the Socialists had become too radical for the majority of the people; also the influence of the new electoral system was detrimental to that party.

It has been estimated that 1,500,000 able-bodied French soldiers were lost in the war and that a similar number were disabled. The government has done everything possible to re-educate these disabled men so that they might become self-supporting. The government granted loans to the maimed or injured to help them in establishing

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a business. These loans bear 1 per cent. interest and are payable in ten years. The government has also given a first sum of $1,000,000 to enable the injured to build themselves homes. Pensions are granted, in addition, to all those disabled by the war.

Another American commission to study industrial conditions in Europe was the National Industrial Conference Board which visited Europe in the spring of 1919. It reported that in France the shortage of labor, due to the losses on the battle-field, has resulted in the laboring class being favorable to the use of labor-saving machinery and efficiency methods.[16]

American Labor and the War.

The year 1913 marks the beginning of a changed attitude toward labor in the minds of the American public. Prior to the entrance of the United States into the war in the Spring of 1917, public opinion had taken a definite stand in favor of labor. The appreciation of the public of the attitude on the part of labor to bring about a successful completion of war reacted in favor of labor. At the entrance of the United States in the war very little advantage was taken of the lessons in regard to labor of the Allied nations, particularly of Great Britain. Strikes were frequent and social discontent was quite prevalent.

Reasons for Discontent.

As in Great Britain the prime reasons for discontent were the increasing cost of living, the feeling on the part of the laboring classes that there was undue profiteering in the case of a few and that labor was not obtaining its share of war profits. At the beginning of the war some employers attempted to take advantage of this patriotic feeling in order to bring about the cessation of laws regulating conditions of labor. The New York state legislature passed a law abolishing all labor regulations during the war. Fortunately this law was vetoed by the governor. Due to the conditions in the ship-building industry and the strikes among the workers in the Pacific northwest in the lumber industry and the workers in the copper fields of Montana and Arizona a commission was appointed by the President to study conditions in various parts of the country and report. A War Labor Board of five members was appointed by the Council of National Defense.

Duties of this board were first to secure information from all governmental agencies which required and demanded labor; (2) to establish machinery by which complaints might go through to the department of labor and other governmental agencies; (3) to formulate plans for meeting additional demands for war labor; (4) to

[16] See Report National Industrial Report, Monthly, Labor Review. October, 1919, p. 20.

consider such problems of labor as may be referred to it by various governmental agencies. On January 19, 1918, the advisory council recommended to the Secretary of Labor that he appoint twelve persons representing employers and laborers and two representing the public for the purpose of negotiating agreements for the period of the war. This resulted in the establishment of a national War Labor Board. The Board was made up of five representatives of the employers' association, five representatives of skilled laborers chosen by the American Federation of Labor; and two joint chairmen to represent the public, one to be appointed by the employers and one by the workers. This War Labor Board began its work on February 2, 1918. Among the principles and the policies which this board stood for were (1) the establishment of the eight-hour day; (2) equal pay for equal work; (3) the abolition of child labor; (4) the abolition of night work for women; (5) the recommendation of the establishment of trades unions in any industry. The board made a study of troubles occuring in any particular industry by appointing a committee of two to study this industry and a local committee to legislate for the particular industry. If the disturbance could not be settled then the question was referred to the national board for adjustment. In some cases, notably the Western Union Telegraph Company's strike, the national board arranged for control of the industry. The results of the establishment of the national War Labor Board were that, in the first place, it prevented the employers from taking advantage of war and charging employees with disloyalty; (2) it insured the production of war necessities; (3) it prevented strikes and industrial unrest and hence prevented the delay of necessary war production; (4) it was a means of bringing capital and labor together.

War Labor Board.

One of the causes of discontent in the United States was over-congestion due to the increase of labor in a certain locality and bad housing conditions. The government in some cases built houses itself in order to rectify these evils. It was recommended by some of the leading architects that the government should construct houses to be sold to laborers after the war by means of small payments.

Due to the fact that the emigration from Europe was shut off as many as one-half million negroes during the war annually came north. Professor Haynes of the University of Texas states in the reports of the Academy of Political Science for February 1918, that negro labor increased in the north and was crowding white labor out of many industries. This was one of the causes of race riots in some parts of the northern United States.

As in the Allied countries, women played a wonderful part in

industry during the war. Accurate statistics have not yet been received but figures reaching from 50,000 to 300,000 show that women were taking the place of men in industry. As the war progressed labor leaders were called in to advise and assist the government regarding labor sentiment. The Chicago Federation of Labor and labor organizations in other parts of the country recommended the establishment of a labor party. In fact, Mr. John Fitzpatrick, the leader of the Chicago Federation of Labor was nominated for mayor of that city in a mayoralty campaign polling however a very small vote. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, has always been opposed to the establishment of a political labor organization. There has been a strong revolt by the more radical members in the American Federation of Labor against the conservative attitude of Mr. Gompers and some of the international officers of that organization.

Women in Industry.

November 22, 1919 in Chicago some twelve hundred delegates participated in the first national convention of the Labor Party. It drew up a national platform of some twenty-nine planks. Among the ideas advocated by the new party were the repeal of the espionage law and the complete restoration of free speech, free press and free assemblage, the punishment of profiteers, favored increased effort on the part of the government to reduce the cost of living; the public ownership of public utilities such as railroads, telegraphs, telephones and all other basic industries which require large scale production; the establishment of the eight-hour working day and a minimum wage based on the cost of living; opposition to compulsory military training; the creation of a national department of health; economic equality for women and negroes.

During the eight months existence of the national War Labor Board, it decided 1200 cases and made wage advancements equalling $12,000,000 annually. In spite of the organization of this board, however, twice as many strikes occurred during its existence as in the same period prior to its organization. The conditions directly following the war presented a greater problem than those during the war-period itself. When the armistice was signed thousands of men were turned out of employment and thousands of soldiers and sailors returned. On March 30, 1918 statistics show some 10,000 workers unemployed and on March 4, 1919 nearly 400,000 men and women were out of work. The latter figures show a large percentage of discharged soldiers, sailors, and marines. During the war the United States Department of Labor established a United States Employment Service with labor exchanges and compulsory registration of unskilled labor

throughout the country. Unfortunately the appropriation for the continuance of the United States Employment Service was not renewed and the work which it might have done in alleviating unemployment was not carried on. Furthermore, the Secretary of the Interior asked Congress to appropriate money for the settling of soldiers and sailors on waste lands. This bill did not pass. Australia and New Zealand and Canada have granted a great deal of land to former soldiers and sailors.

Since the close of the war, strikes have been increasing in number and labor discontent has become more prevalent. Reviewing the results of the war in behalf of labor it can be said that progressive legislation has been organized on every hand. The United States government as well as the British government has assisted labor in meeting its demands. Every organization in the United States which has worked with labor unions has been making statements as to labor and the place it should have in our nation. It has become definitely recognized that the eight-hour day should be considered as basic; that labor should receive pay requisite to meet the living conditions of its particular locality. A federal child labor law has been passed which lays a tax on the goods produced by child labor in interstate commerce. Special regulations regarding women workers are being enforced. The fact that the American Federation of Labor stood loyally back of the government in all phases of the war has increased the position of labor greatly. The feeling is growing more widespread that labor should cease to be considered a commodity and that the laborer should be considered a person.

Since the close of the war, two industrial conferences have been appointed by President Woodrow Wilson. The first conference made up of representatives of labor, of capital and the public could not agree upon any definite policy. The representatives met separately and made separate proposals. The second conference in which the members met together has made a tentative plan for the adjustment of industrial disputes. This provides for a National Industrial Tribunal of nine members. The country then is to be divided into twelve industrial regions in each of which is to be established a Regional Board of Inquiry and Adjustment. If trouble should ensue in any district it would be referred to the Regional Board which would investigate the dispute and then publish a majority and minority report. This would be filed with the secretaries of Commerce and Labor and the National Industrial Tribunal. The National Industrial Tribunal would be made up of nine members—three representing employers; three, employees and three, the public.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

The history of Russia is not as easy to follow or to understand as the history of the western European states. It has been less carefully studied and it has lagged behind the western states in its development. It is also closely connected with the history of Asia, both because of its close physical contact with Asia, and because of the many Asiatic people who have found their way within its borders.

The Character of Russian History.

Until 1917, the government of Russia remained autocratic in character. In theory, the Czar was the real authority; in fact, his ministers directed all affairs of state. The ministers, the nobility and the Czar controlled everything. There was no legislative assembly, such as was found in the western states. Administration was almost wholly in the hands of the privileged classes and even the courts were completely under the control of the administration. The Czar was interested in the development of Russia and was careful to watch over her welfare where other states were concerned. The nobility, too, were interested in the growth of the state, but their interest, like that of the Czar, was selfish and narrow. They thought of the state as a feudal state still, with only one of its classes, the nobility, capable of managing its government.

The Government of Russia.

In Russia, as in other states, the industrial revolution had brought about great changes. It had created a comparatively strong and wealthy middle class who were interested in commerce, trade and manufacture. It had brought into Russia capital to build up manufactures and had interested many foreigners in Russian industry. It had created a large class of factory workers who slowly freed themselves from the serf conditions which, in the early part of the last century, had kept them in very poor circumstances. They gradually became free workers, as in the west, and began to organize to protect themselves and to improve the conditions under which they had to work.

The Democratic Forces

The great economic changes helped to make agricultural conditions better, too. The peasants were freed from serfdom in 1867. The local Mir or village became the owner of local lands, of which the peasant received his portion, and he was helped to make the con-

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THE OLD DUMA

ditions of his family and the village better. The government organized the Zemstvos, which were provincial committees or assemblies whose purpose was to aid the villages by loaning money for machinery, by developing the best methods of agriculture, by teaching and advising the peasants about their stock and crops. In time, the Zemstvos also took an interest in the political affairs of the province, and they were always a factor in helping to secure a more liberal policy on the part of the government.

The government itself was not altogether neglectful of the development of the people. After 1867 a partial system of elementary education was established, and many secondary schools, of both a private and a public nature, grew up. A number of universities were organized by the state, although they were always more or less under suspicion because of their liberal viewpoint. The schools were a source of a great deal of liberal agitation and, under the later Czars, they were very greatly restricted. Many students went abroad to carry on the work of liberalizing Russia, and in this work, many of the great writers of Russia played a part. Their writings which were read all over the state, kindled the spirit of revolt against the government; while, among other nations, they helped to develop sympathy for the Russian peasant and worker.

In the last decade of the century, a really great leader of the nation was found in Sergius Witte, who became minister of finance in 1893. Count Witte set himself the task of creating a great industrial Russia. He built the Siberian railway, encouraged foreign capital to come to Russia, established the gold standard of coinage, strengthened the railway system in Europe, developed a colonial policy and tried, with some measure of success, to make Russia as progressive as her western sister states. Under his leadership, Russia enacted her first legislation dealing with the welfare of the workers. He was dismissed in 1903 and the government assumed a more conservative attitude.

Soon after the fall of Witte, Russia found herself at war with Japan, and the suffering of the people and dissatisfaction with the war brought out all the latent discontent which had been developing for years against the government. This discontent hastened the revolution of 1905.

Toward the close of the year 1904 the Czar issued an order requesting the ministers to draw up plans for reform along the lines asked by the Zemstvos delegates but he omitted to say anything about a representative assembly and it soon became clear that he proposed to maintain autocracy while moving in the direction of reform. This situation brought a renewal of the outburst of revolutionary spirit

and in June 1905 the Czar was forced to promise to call to his assistance the representatives of the nation, while later in the year, he renewed by a published declaration his intentions to carry out far-reaching reforms along the lines previously suggested. In December 1905, a decree of universal suffrage was issued and in March 1906 was published a decree establishing a national Duma, or congress of two houses.

The Decree of December 1905 and of March 1906

This was probably the high water point of the revolution. Almost at once such a difference of opinion arose over the congress or Duma, that the government was able to organize its policy of permitting comparatively little power to the Duma and of looking upon it merely as a consultative body. After repeated quarrels between the Czar and the first and second Dumas, the later Dumas settled down to the acceptance of the Czar's interpretation of their position. This position was maintained practically until the war of 1914. The constitutional situation was, therefore, similar to that in Germany, a "constitutional monarchy under an autocratic ruler". But "in the Duma the Russian people possessed a body that at least could speak for the nation and that contained the germ of political democracy. This was the fruit of the Russian Revolution of 1905."[1]

The New Duma.

The revolution of 1917 was the result of several forces acting at the same time although not together. The radical wing of the Socialist Revolutionary party under the leadership of Lenine and Trotsky, had never ceased since 1904 to preach revolution. They now preached revolt to the soldiers, they decried the war as unnecessary and as the work of the government to defeat the people, they published manifestoes saying that the defeat of the Czar's government would be of little consequence. They issued a call to Russia to turn her arms against the bourgeois governments instead of against their brothers, the proletariat, in the hostile armies; and finally both Lenine and Trotsky in exile declared that the defeat of Russia was actually desirable, since the government's defeat would mean the success of the revolutionists. These "advocates of defeat" were, however, small in numbers and in influence and were easily managed until the revolution overthrew the government.

The Prelude to the Revolution of 1917.

But the great revolutionary party although they supported the war with energy, nevertheless never put any faith in the government. The few years preceding the war really laid the foundations of the new revolt. "While Bolsheviki and Mensheviki wrangled and dis-

[1] Hayes, Modern Europe, p. 485.

puted, great forces were at work among the Russian people. By 1910 the terrible pall of depression and despair which had settled upon the nation as a result of the failure of the first Revolution began to break There was a new generation of college students, youthful and optimistic spirits who were undeterred by the failure of 1905-6, confident that they were wiser and certain to succeed. Also there had been an enormous growth of working-class organizations, large numbers of unions and cooperative societies having been formed in spite of the efforts of the government. The soul of Russia was once more stirring.

"The end of 1910 and the beginning of 1911 witnessed a new series of strikes, such as had not occurred since 1908. The first were students' strikes, inaugurated in support of their demand for the abolition of capital punishment. These were quickly followed by important strikes in the industrial centers for economic ends—better wages and shorter working-hours. As in the period immediately preceding the first Revolution, the industrial unrest soon manifested itself in political ways. Without any conscious leadership at all this would have been inevitable in the existing circumstances. But there was leadership. Social Democrats of both factions, and Socialists of other groups as well, moved among the workers, preaching the old, yet ever new, gospel of revolt. Political strikes followed the strikes for immediate economic ends. Throughout the latter part of 1911 and the whole of 1912 the revolutionary movement once more spread among the masses.

"The year 1913 was hardly well begun when revolutionary activities assumed formidable proportions January 9th—Russian calendar—anniversary of Bloody Sunday, was celebrated all over the country by great demonstrations which were really demonstration-strikes. In St. Petersburg fifty-five thousand workers went out—and there were literally hundreds of other smaller "strikes" of a similar nature throughout the country. In April another anniversary of the martydom of revolting workingmen was similarly celebrated in most of the industrial centers, hundreds of thousands of workers striking as a manifestation against the government. The 1st of May was celebrated as it had not been celebrated since 1905. In the various industrial cities hundreds of thousands of workmen left their work to march through the streets and hold mass meetings, and so formidable was the movement that the government was cowed and dared not attempt to suppress it by force. There was a defiant note of revolution in this great uprising of the workers. They demanded an eight-hour day and the right to organize unions and make collective bargains. In addition to these demands, they protested against the Balkan War and against militarism in general.

"Had the great war not intervened, a tragic interlude in Russia's long history of struggle, the year 1914 would have been the greatest struggle for the overthrow of Czarism in all that nation's history. Whether it would have been more successful than the effort of 1905 can never be known, but it is certain that the working-class revolutionary movement was far stronger than it was nine years before. On the other hand, there would not have been the same degree of support from the other classes, for in the intervening period class lines had been more sharply drawn and the class conflict greatly intensified. Surging through the masses like a mighty tide was the spirit of revolt, manifesting itself much as it had done nine years before. All through the early months of the year the revolutionary temper grew. The workers became openly defiant and the government, held in check, doubtless, by the delicate balance of the international situation, dared not resort to force with sufficient vigor to stamp out the agitation. Mass meetings were held in spite of all regulations to the contrary; political strikes occurred in all parts of the country. In St. Petersburg and Moscow barricades were thrown up in the streets as late as July. Then the war clouds burst. A greater passion than that of revolution swept over the nation and it turned to present a united front to the external foe."[2]

Feeling of Suspicion toward Government.

There soon arose, after the first great defeat of Russia in 1915, a feeling of suspicion that not only was there incompetence in the government but that there was actual collusion with the Germans, and men began to think that Russia was about to make peace with Germany to save herself from the liberals. This suspicion came from the like autocratic character of the two governments, from the closely-woven blood ties between the two ruling houses, and perhaps most of all from the strong and persistent German influence in Russian governmental circles. This influence persisted in marriages among government officials. It had long been noted that many Germans had wormed their way into the affairs of government by marriage with Russian women of the bureaucratic classes. Further, among the land holders many Germans were found who had married into the lands or had acquired them through official connections. This strong German influence had long been distasteful to the middle and wealthy classes in Russia, who welcomed the war as a means of destroying it.

By the close of 1915, both the middle class and the proletariat or working-class were convinced that the Russian government was playing into the hands of Germany. When the Duma met in Nov-

[2] Spargo, Bolshevism, pp. 73, 75.

ember, 1916, the charge was made directly that the premier, Sturmer, was not loyal to the allies, and his dismissal was demanded by both the Duma and the army officials. Little was accomplished, however, by his dismissal for his place was at once given to Trepov, a reactionary, who became largely a figure head, and the intrigues went on until it was rumored that Sturmer was to be sent to Sweden as Russian ambassador, which was taken to mean that the time for the government's peace with Germany had arrived. This news produced a demand for its denial by the government from both Duma and Imperial Council. The Council was jealous of the influence of the church with the Czar, as exercised by its leaders, Protopopov, the head of the church, and Rasputin, the monk, priest of the Czarina, since these men practically destroyed the Council's influence.

Early in January 1917 the Czar dismissed the hostile members of his council and replaced them by strong reactionaries, while the opening of the Duma was postponed until February. So ominous was the situation, so tense the feeling against the government when the Duma met, that Kerensky, the leader of the Social Democrats was able to say, "We have a still greater enemy than the German influence, than the teaching and treason of individuals. And that enemy is the system—the system of a mediaeval form of government."[3] Thus, Socialists, government and middle classes from one cause or another were forcing the revolution; above all, the government was the guilty party, for of all the classes, the aristocratic group alone were really pro-German and the revolution of March, 1917, was primarily in its beginnings a protest against pro-Germanism.

The government's condemnation by Kerensky was the announcement of the revolution. On March 7th, strikes began in Petrograd. Within a short time industry was very largely stopped. Nevertheless, there were no conflicts until the 11th for the strikers were kept well in hand. Soon it became evident that the soldiers called to the capital to quell the strikers would not oppose the people. Regiment after regiment refused to fire on the people and the police were helpless. Such regiments as tried to obey the government were taken in hand by the revolting regiments. In the meantime the Duma resolved to sit continually, and spent its time in denouncing the government and demanding reforms. On the 11th of March a telegram was sent the Czar who was with the army, asking him to name some one to represent him whom the people would hear. On the 12th, the people stormed the palace where the Duma sat and demanded to know the mind of that body. The So-

The Revolution of 1917.

[3] Spargo, Bolshevism, pp. 119-120

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A DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF WINTER PALACE.

cialist members addressed the people and begged them to maintain order, promising them that the Duma would act. That afternoon the "Duma Committee of Safety" of twelve members were appointed to take charge of the government.

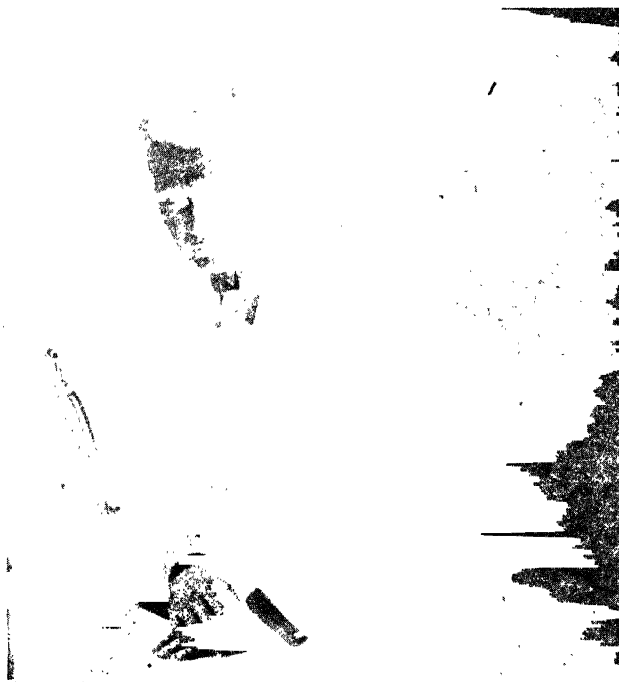
At the same time a hastily formed committee of the workers met and issued a call for an immediate election by the workers, of delegates for a workmen's council. This Council was elected and met that same evening, March 12th. At this meeting a demand was made for a constituent assembly on the basis of equal, direct and secret universal suffrage. Two days later the Duma Council and the Council of Workmen and Deputies negotiated with each other trying to find a common ground of action. The next day an agreement was reached and announced to the people that it had been decided to depose the Czar, to establish a provisional government and proceed to arrange for a constituent assembly to determine the future government of Russia.

The provisional government organized gave most of the power into the hands of the middle class, only Kerensky representing the Social Democrats, and the government was therefore not in favor with the radical elements. The organization of the provisional government and the announcement of its program produced no enthusiasm among the people. They were too well accustomed to hearing programs announced and they were not at all satisfied with the provisional government.

The provisional government was at once recognized by the Allies and set to work to retrieve the situation. They pledged themselves to the continuance of the war, announced a very liberal policy and gave entire freedom of speech, of assembly and of the press. Milyukov arranged all matters of foreign relations with the Allies and in accordance with the request of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, asked the Allies for a restatement of their war aims. The attempt was made, with some success, to reorganize transportation, to strengthen munition manufactures and to arm the soldiers as well as to distribute the food supply and to secure a better supply for distribution. All the ministries exerted themselves to the utmost, but the government was doomed from the beginning.

First of all, its policies were not definite nor were its leaders united. They did not have the confidence of the people. The government had been largely paralyzed by the revolution and it was not easy to get it back into its normal order. Moreover, the revolution had greatly emphasized the activity of the Bolshevist faction and the early return of its leaders and thefreedom of activity made them many deciples and interfered with the government at every turn. But, worst of all, the estab-

lishment of the Provisional Government had left alive and active the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies. This body professed to accept the provisional government but continued its own activities independently, offered advice and threats and embarrassed the government at every turn. The organization of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies

Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies.

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MR. KERENSKY.

was based upon election by the trades and professions thus creating the Soviet organization of Russia for political purposes.[4] This further enabled the radical elements to develop activities in the local individual Soviets, so that ere long their influence, due not to numbers but to their knowledge of political methods, became strong. Unfortunately this Council stood behind the scenes, took no responsibility for its advice and was therefore the bolder in giving advice.

One of the first places where it made its influence felt was in the

[4] See pp. 304-306.

army; through the demand for the dismissal of most of the higher officers and the propagation of revolutionary ideas among the men, the army was quickly and completely disorganized. The war minister of the first Provisional Government, Gutchkoff, resigned rather than bear the responsibility for the complete disorganization of the army, while Milyukov, the minister of foreign affairs, was forced to resign about the same time, early in May 1917.

Kerensky, who replaced Milyukov as minister of foreign affairs, remained in office from May 20th until November 7th, though he presented his resignation very soon after taking office. His failure was due primarily to two causes. First of all he and his ministry,

Kerensky.

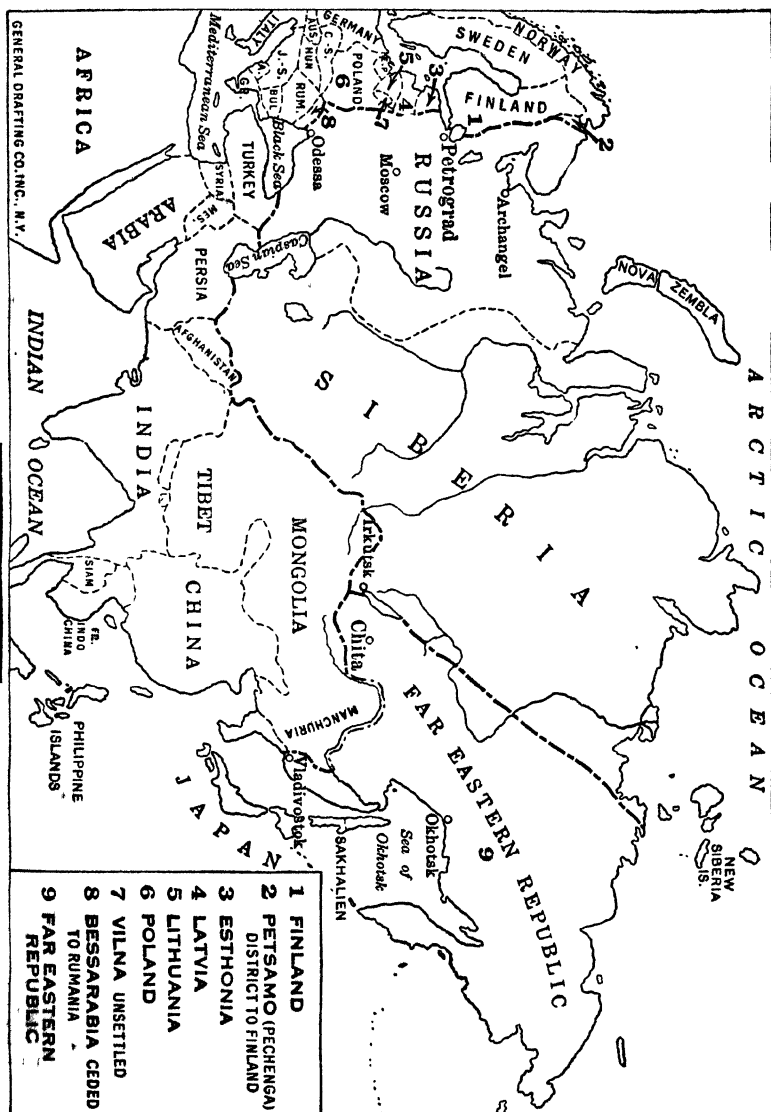
although made up from all the groups of the socialist, except the Bolshevists, failed to secure the confidence of the people or to unify the various socialist elements. His failure was also due to the calling of a great conference in Moscow in August, which though it agreed upon important questions seemed only to strengthen the lines of cleavage; and enabled the Bolshevik element to develop strength from the conference's weakness. On the other hand, Kerensky was too late to stop the revolutionary process in the army. For a time, he and Kornilov worked in harmony, but by the time the first effects of their work could be seen, Kornilov became suspicious of the government and revolted. This revolt was the end, for, though it was easily put down, it so effectually put an end to the work of remaking the armies that the provisional government was helpless. Kerensky kept up the fight until November, but an attack by the Red Guards and Bolsheviki on November 6th carried the day and the social democratic control gave way to Bolshevism.

During the revolution of 1905 was organized in Petrograd a committee of the representatives of labor. Of course, this committee was

The Organization of Revolutionary Russia.

arbitrarily appointed but the basis of its organization was to be found in the fact that it represented the workmen of Petrograd.[5] Before the revolution came to an end this committee or council became representative of all the principal factories in and near the capital, and similar councils were formed in many of the other cities of Russia.

When the revolution of 1917 became a reality there was again formed this representative council of the workmen. Its strength lay in the fact that the people wanted it, to take the place of the old economic administration which was now discarded. The principle of

[5] This is the origin of the idea of the "Soviet," the word is Russian and means "Council" or "Committee." The Soviet is a council of workingmen chosen to represent a single trade or many trades. In the latter case the Soviet is made up of delegates chosen by each trade to be represented.

RUSSIA IN 1921.

organization made its extension easy. Within a few days after its organization in 1917 the Council of Workmen admitted the soldiers' deputies and a little later the admittance of peasant deputies extended the system to all Russia. The influence and power of the system was found in the fact that it represented the people; it could do what it pleased, as it pleased to do what the people wanted. Thus gradually the real authority passed over to the Soviet, as it was called. In each village was the local Soviet representing every kind of labor, including the brain workers as well as the hand workers. The provincial Soviet was a council made up of the representatives of each local Soviet in the province, and finally the national soviet was made up of representatives from all the provinces, of all the callings, such as soldiers, mineworkers, factory workers, peasants, teachers, etc. This central committee was known as the "United Executive Committee of the All-Russian Councils of Work men's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates" and consisted of more than three hundred elected representatives of the Soviets of Russia.

The Soviets.

It is important to notice that this method of representation gives democratic expression to the people in economic affairs just as representation by our western method gives such expression in political affairs and that it is just as little intended to give party domination by any one party as is our own system. Clearly, the make-up of the United Executive Committee will be the result of a nation wide election of representatives. These representatives may be and will be what the people want if the elections are not manipulated; which is no more likely to occur than in our own system. It is necessary to point this out because we must not fail to distinguish between this form of representation and the Bolsheviki government which at present controls Russia.[6] As a matter of fact, the first United Executive Committee drew up a memorial demanding the public trial of the Bolsheviki leaders as well as strong resolutions upholding the provisional government. They likewise decreed, too late for its success, that all measures of the majority be accepted throughout Russia, and approved of the measures taken by Kerensky's government to overcome the Bolshevist propaganda.[7]

How then did the minority socialist party in Russia, the Bolsheviki, secure control of the government? There are many reasons for

[6] 1920.

[7] It should be explained that the Soviets were not originally created to govern but the continued dictation by the Council of the United Soviets to the Kerensky government gave the cue to the Bolsheviki that this form of organization could become the active form of political as well as industrial organization.

their success. First of all, it was the boldest party in Russia, prepared by revolution to overthrow any government that might be established other than its own. Its very nature made it the rallying ground of all discontented elements in Russia, the lawbreakers, the starving, those who suffered from injustice. The ferment in society made it difficult to administer internal affairs, collect taxes, etc., without trouble, but the war made it infinitely more impossible. War materials had to be created, the army had to be fed, transportation had to be kept going in internal Russia as well as on the frontiers. The war had to go on, the army had to be disciplined and controlled if it was to succeed. And here was the first failure. The revolution created a disorder in the army that could not be overcome, even though the death penalty for desertion at the front was put back into force. The army went to pieces and destroyed Kerensky's government because the hope of the provisional government was the success of its arms.

The Red Guards.

Then came the Red Guards, an organization which was organized by the Bolsheviki to upset the government. Toward the latter part of 1917 the work of the Red Guards throughout Russia tended to strengthen the representative element of the Bolsheviki in the United Executive Committee, because elections were contested by them or made impossible so that a more and more desperate group were sent up to the United Committee. Hence on November 6th, the Bolsheviki party took military possession of the government. Kerensky escaped but the other members were arrested and imprisoned. The new government formed was called the Council of the People's Commissioners but was merely a committee of the Soviets. The Duma was gone. The Constituent Assembly was not called. A small committee representing but a very small element of the people was in power. A political party had captured the government by political manipulation and by intimidation in spite of its small numbers.

The Bolsheviki.

There has never been at any time very much of a chance that the Bolsheviki could succeed in really getting hold of Russia. Their best allies have been the general chaos resulting from the over-throw of the old system during the period of war together with the general breakdown of transportation and the consequent failure of the distribution of food. Added to these have been the ignorance of the peasantry as to the causes of the war and their great desire to see its close. But except for these allies, the Bolsheviki do not represent any appreciable percentage of the people. Lenine, himself, has estimated the numbers of the Bolsheviki as 200,000 out of 180,000,000. There are many other reasons why the Bolsheviki will fail but their lack of numbers is the first reason. For it must be remembered that while

the Bolsheviki are socialists and as such have much in common with all socialists the things which make them distinctive are accepted by but a small group of people. Furthermore the Bolsheviki overthrew the provisional government within three weeks of the time set for the election of the constituent assembly. It was overthrown because of the fear that the government would succeed in bringing order and peace to internal Russia and thus that political democracy should

Daily Mirror

SOLDIERS OF THE BOLSHEVIK ARMY

succeed. This they did not wish because of their refusal to believe that regeneration could come by way of political democracy. Moreover, in practice they have failed to achieve industrial democracy and have established a dictatorship of a few *to secure the good of the people.*[8] Their character is shown by the fact that the revolution

[8] It is true that the communist government has accomplished something for Russia. Peace and order have come, slowly Industry has been strengthened largely of course by the coöperative societies, Russia has made a working peace with most of the European Powers. It should be noted, however, that this has been done largely in opposition to the theories upon which the government rests. The people have been given the land but are suspicious and so far have refused really to trust the aims of the Bolshevist government.

RUSSIAN-SOCIALISTIC FEDERATED SOVIET REPUBLIC. A STUDY OF TYPES.

had every chance to secure the wish of the people through its Constituent Assembly, the meeting of which they made impossible.

The essence of Bolshevism, as such, is power, to be gained at any cost, and ruthlessly applied by the proletariat minority.[9] This does not mean that they do not believe in the principles of socialism together with all other socialists. They differ as to method and program, and in these are, therefore, not different from the autocracy which was so recently overthrown. It was inevitable, however, when once in power, that they could not allow the Constituent Assembly to work freely. In its work they saw their own overthrow and hence dispersed the gathering on the ground that the elections were not made through the Soviets although every man and woman in Russia who so desired had voted for the representatives.

Throughout the revolution, the Zemstvo has continued to maintain its position as the normal moderate method of government locally, in economic and political life. The coöperative societies which control the commercial and industrial life of the nation are only a modification in form of the Zemstvo and are a direct outgrowth of its activity. The power of this older and more normal form of local government and administration has been recognized by the Bolshevist government and Lenine has not hesitated to make use of its authority by his recognition of its work. So far it has not been weakened by this contact with Bolshevism and remains perhaps the hope of future Russia.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, II, pp. 452-466; 472-482.

Hazen, Modern European History, pp. 567-571.

Hazen, Europe since 1815, pp. 670-676.

Robinson and Beard, Development of Modern Europe, II, p. 278 ff.

Seignobos, Political History of Europe since 1815, pp. 603-608.

Spargo, Bolshevism, p. 73 ff.

International Conciliation Bulletin No. 136, for March, 1919 contains some of the more important documents of the Russian Revolutionary Government. The Nation for Jan. 1920 also contains additional documents.

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[9] Spargo, Bolshevism, p. 215. Spargo here makes clear the betrayal of the nation.

CHAPTER VI

MODERN PROGRESS

THE period from 1815 to the present day has been aptly styled an age of progress. Sometimes it has been called the Marvelous Century or the Wondrous Age. It has been marked by the rapid spread of western civilization over the entire globe. Wonderful works in engineering and great discoveries in science make it one of the most noteworthy periods in the civilization of humanity. Under the influence of the ideas that had been developed in the nineteenth century, great changes were made in regard to the attitude of men toward each other. During the period under study, the slave trade and slavery have been gradually abolished. In all the countries of the Western World, political democracy has become an assured fact. At the time of the adoption of the constitution of the United States only a part of the males over twenty-one could vote. Not only in the United States has the suffrage been granted to men but also to women. In France, manhood suffrage dates from the Revolution of 1848 and has been legalized by Great Britain, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, and other European countries. Woman suffrage has been partially adopted in Great Britain and fully in the Scandinavian countries and in many of the states which have been formed since the Great War.

Abolition of Slavery.

Universal Suffrage.

Religious freedom, freedom of the press and the person have come to be a part of the social and legal systems of the Western World. No man can lose his personal liberty except for crime and he is not to be arrested without reasons being given before a court. The American constitution, in its Bill of Rights, guaranteed liberty of the press. In France, a free press has been established since the law of July 1881. Religious liberty is rapidly being adopted throughout the world. In France, the Declaration of the Rights of Man stated that "no one could be deprived of his opinions, even religious, provided that their manifestation did not disturb the public order established by law." This was similar to the clause in the American constitution guaranteeing freedom of worship. In many countries privileged religions, known as state churches still exist. In England, the state church is the Anglican; in Spain, the Roman Catholic; in Scandinavian countries, Lutheran; and in Greece and the Balkan states, the Greek

Individual Liberty.

Liberty of the Press.

Religious Liberty.

church. However the religion of the State church is not obligatory upon anyone.

In ancient times, many cruel punishments were inflicted. Capital punishment was common for the smallest crime. Gradually, there has been developing a stronger sentiment in favor of the abolition of the death penalty. In many countries of western Europe and in many of the states of the United States the death penalty has already been abolished. Gradually, there has grown a feeling strongly in favor of bettering the condition of prisoners and prisons. Criminologists are making scientific studies of criminals and methods of reformation are being studied and adopted.

Humanitarianism.

Beginning with the eighteenth century, attempts began to be made to alleviate the condition of the poor and the unfortunate. A spirit of humanity and of kindness has been shown as in no other period in the history of man. Scientific charity; the study of the social welfare of humanity; laws to protect workers of all kind; attempts to remove poverty—all these were developed on a scale greater than ever before in history.

Development of Popular Education.

As a result of the philosophical ideas of the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great of Prussia made popular education compulsory. Condorcet, in France at the time of the French Revolution planned the establishment of a national educational system. Pestalozzi, a reformer of the eighteenth century, showed the value of popular education. In 1833, a bill was introduced into the British Parliament establishing a national system of universal education. This made compulsory the education of every child from six to twelve years of age. This failed of passage but 20,000 pounds was voted for the establishment of elementary schools. Wider extension of the suffrage in 1867 in England brought about the idea of the need of greater education, hence the passage of the act of 1870 which provided for the establishment of public schools in neighborhoods where voluntary schools did not exist. Compulsory free education in England may not be said to have been established until the passage of the Fisher Education Act of 1918 which made compulsory the free education of every child up to sixteen years of age and the establishment of continuation schools up to eighteen years of age. This act has not been fully enforced since the war.

During the empire of Napoleon III, Victor Duruy, minister of education said, "In a country of universal suffrage, primary and obligatory instruction, being for a society a duty and a profit, ought to be paid for by the community." Jules Ferry in 1881 established

CENTRAL EUROPE IN 1921.

free and obligatory education for every child and in 1886 public education was made secular. In parts of Germany, compulsory school education has been obligatory since the eighteenth century. In the Scandinavian countries, in Italy and the other countries of western Europe, educational opportunity to all is rapidly being furnished. President Garfield's maxim that universal suffrage necessitates universal education is being definitely accepted. In the new states formed since the war, notably Czecho-Slovakia, the establishment of free public education shows marked progress. One of the noteworthy changes is the attempt made by the working classes in many countries of western Europe to develop higher instruction for themselves. The Worker's Education Association in England and the People's Schools in Denmark are illustrations of this tendency.

Development of the Evolutionary Hypothesis.

The last hundred years witnessed marvelous development in the study of life in all its forms. This period witnessed the development of biology, of anthropology, of the study of religion, of sociology, of law, of economics, and other social sciences —all of these studies were greatly influenced by the adoption of the evolutionary hypothesis in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This idea, simply stated, is that all things have evolved out of other things by a slow process of growth and change. From the time of the Greeks onward, vague ideas of the growth of one organism from another had been held but it was not really until the publication by Charles Darwin of his "Origin of Species" in 1859 that this doctrine really took form and had an influence upon the thought of average people. In this work Darwin taught that man was a long process of growth from other forms; and developed "the theory that living beings vary naturally in all directions, and that those varieties are 'selected' and tend to survive which give their possessors a superior chance in the universal struggle for existence." This theory of evolution has not only affected the thought of men in natural science but also in every other field of study. Today, we realize that all our social institutions such as the family, the church, the state, are an evolution by a slow process of growth from more simple and primitive forms. The political, the religious and cultural institutions in primitive times were centered in one unitary group. Today, these institutions have become complex and each lives its own life, in some ways distinct from the others. The great contribution of the doctrine of evolution to the modern world has been that all social institutions are a process of slow growth being influenced by their environment and in turn changing their environment; that changes in the entire

universe have taken place in the past; are taking place and will continue to take place. "The ultimate result," says Darwin, "is that each creature tends to become more and more improved in relation to its condition. This improvement inevitably leads to the gradual advancement of the organization of the greater number of living beings throughout the world."

Development of Political Democracy.

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries developed political democracy—the idea that the people should be represented in the government of their nation. The development of political democracy in England was a long process of evolution. English institutions were carried to the United States, conveying the idea that, in the last analysis, the people should be represented in the government under which they were ruled. The Declaration of Independence and the American constitution developed the idea of the right of the individual to be politically represented. The first ten amendments to the United States constitution, copied after the English Bill of Rights of 1689, specified certain restrictions upon the government in order to protect the rights of the individual. Among the specific guarantees of the Bill of Rights are freedom of speech, freedom of contract, religious toleration, the right of assembly and the right of petition. The American constitution was an outgrowth of the eighteenth century idea of natural rights which stated that the individual had certain definite rights with which the government could not interfere. The Englishman and the American have been extremely individualistic. By this, it is meant that he has been extremely careful that the government of the country should not interfere too greatly in his particular rights. The American constitution, the character of the early American settlers, their inheritance of English institutions, the unlimited opportunities in the new land—all these affirmed that each individual was responsible for his own success. Jefferson's idea that that government is the best which interferes the least with the individual became the prevailing belief in the United States.

Industrial Democracy.

Although political democracy has been given a sure footing, industrial democracy has not yet been at all firmly established. Formerly the worker had a direct relationship with his employer. He knew his employer personally and the employer knew him. When he had a grievance he could go to the employer and discuss the question at stake personally and this is still true in many industries. But with the development of modern industry in which sometimes thousands of workers are employed in the same factory, for example the United States Steel Corporation, the worker does not

know his employer, has no personal relations with him, nor does the employer know him. [1]

Due to the character of modern industry there has developed in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century a great deal of social discontent. Because of this social discontent in the middle of the nineteenth century there arose in Europe a movement called Socialism, which, according to its adherents, had for its aim the removal of the social ills of society.

The early socialists are called Utopian or idealistic socialists. They had vague ideas of social betterment. They were very idealistic in their hopes regarding future society. The most famous leaders of this group were Robert Owen in England, and Saint Simon and Fourier in France.[2] Robert Owen had been a manager of a great factory in the eighteenth and first quarter of the nineteenth century in Scotland, and there he had come to realize that the character of the life of the workers had a direct relationship to their ability as producers. Owen was one of the first to advocate child labor reform. He showed in his factory that by raising the working age of children and reducing the hours of labor and bettering the life of the community that production increased at a less cost. Later he became extremely radical in his ideas and tried to establish in America a communistic colony in which all members of the colony should own everything in common.

Utopian Socialists.

Robert Owen.

Saint Simon was a French noble who took part in the American

[1] From the Middle Ages onward to the eighteenth century, the economic idea prevailed in western Europe that trade and industry should be regulated either by the community or the State. During the mediæval period, the guilds decided regarding the quality and character of work; what were fair prices, and made numerous regulations regarding trade and industry. During the period of the Tudors in the sixteenth century, the State had come to regulate trade and industry. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, this theory had ceased to prevail and a new theory, freedom of work and of trade, came to be predominant under this theory, all associations of workers were forbidden. The State could not intervene between employees and employers and so the condition of the former became very bad. In England about 1830 one-tenth of the workers of Manchester lived in caves and the daily wage was only a few cents a day. In France, about the same time, the workers in the cotton industry received about thirteen cents for a day of sixteen to seventeen hours. These conditions brought about a reaction against the doctrines of the economists of the period and as a result of the influence of men who had more humanitarian ideas, the theories of the economists became modified and laws permitting the workers to unite for their own benefit; and regulating hours and conditions of labor have been passed. Such social insurance legislation, as described in the chapters on Social Legislation in Great Britain and Germany have been adopted in nearly all of the countries of western Europe and social amelioration has become a recognized sign of the new century.

[2] Extracts giving the ideas of Owen and Fourier will be found in Robinson and Beard, Readings in Modern European History, II, 481-485.

Revolution. He made a great fortune in land during the days of the French Revolution and later lost it, which affected his attitude toward social questions and for this reason he advocated certain social ideas which had an influence among some of the young thinkers of France. Ferdinand De Lesseps, the builder of the Suez canal came under the influence of Saint Simon.

Saint Simon.

Fourier belonged to the middle class. He wished to establish social centers in which all the workers should live in the same building and have more or less of a common life. The underlying thought of these men is that social change could be brought about by appealing to the ideals of men.

Fourier.

The real founder of socialism, however, is usually conceded to be Karl Marx. He is sometimes called the founder of scientific socialism. Marx was a German Jew whose father had been converted to Christianity. Marx graduated from a German university with the idea of becoming a teacher. He later was a newspaper writer and took part in the Revolutionary movement in 1848 and as result he was driven out of Germany and finally settled in England. With Friederich Engels, he drew up what is known as "The Communist Manifesto."

Marxian Socialism.

Some of the fundamental ideas of Marxian Socialism are (1) the class struggle,—that future society will be made up of a struggle between the two classes, capitalistic class upon the one hand and the working or proletariat class on the other. Marx declared that gradually all the control of the means of production and distribution would fall into the hands of a few and then later the working classes driven to a point of resistance would rise and take over the control of industry and there would be established the socialistic State. *Marx's predictions have been proved false.* Although there has been a development of the concentration of industry in the hands of a few, along with it have developed many small industries which have been managed by the owner himself. His idea of the class struggle has also been proved false by the fact that society is not divided into two classes.

(2) The economic or materialistic conception of history is another of the ideas of Marx. He believed that all movements in history have been due to economic causes. This idea is not wholly true. He neglects various other factors which have contributed to the making of history, such as the religious, the political and cultural causes for historical changes. One of the prime reasons that the historical movements have been so slow in developing is due to the influence of custom and tradition.

(3) The idea of surplus value. Marx claimed that the value of any product is due to labor alone; that the profits which go to capital are robbed from labor. Thus he neglects absolutely the question of capital and its part in modern production.

(4) The internationalization of labor. He claims that labor in all countries would be driven to unite and break down national boundaries but he underestimated the influence of patriotism. In 1848 nationalism was just beginning to develop in Germany and Italy. Marx himself being a German could not imagine the influence of national feeling upon a people. The recent war has shown the fallacy of socialism in this respect. Socialists of all countries rallied to the banners of their own countries. Marx also underestimated the influence of modern trade unionism. "It is only since 1850 that modern trade unionism has acquired any particular power. . . . This movement of trade unionism has been not a passive foundation to economic evolution, but a struggle of labor to better its conditions day by day."

Marx announced that the change in society was to be brought about by revolution. The doctrine of evolution has developed since his time. Our study of primitive society has shown how slow changes are. The modern industrial system is only very recent and there is no indication of any tremendous change in its character in the near future. Marx did not take into consideration the part that spiritual influences play. He believed absolutely in the materialistic influence of society. He had no realization of the development of political democracy and that the labor class would have a part in the making of the laws under which it was governed. Since the days of Marx, the Socialistic parties in nearly every country which had taken him as a leader have modified greatly his ideas. In Germany, the home of Marxianism, Socialism has been divided into two camps, one which followed Marx's ideas literally; the second which became known as the Revisionists and who have given up many of the economic ideas of Marx, recognizing the part which evolution played in history. This group has become really a party which stood for economic reform and legislation. In France, the reformist group became known as the Opportunists or Possibilists. English socialism has never been influenced in any great degree by Marx. The Fabians who look upon Socialism as the great idea of the future wished to bring about socialism by piece-meal reform. They advocate certain labor and social changes. Their aim is to make a study of social conditions and then bring about through legislation as far as possible the removal of the evils of the present society.

Other methods of social reform which have been presented that

are in some ways akin to Socialism are Anarchism, Syndicalism, and Guild Socialism. The Anarchists are just the other extreme from Socialists. They claim that the State is the greatest enemy of liberty and freedom and for that reason it must be abolished. Anarchism is individualism run riot. The Anarchists lay so much emphasis on the liberty of the individual that they are almost entirely opposed to any state action. In fact, they oppose authority in religion, the family, and in every other field. The leader of modern anarchism was Proudhon, a Frenchman of the nineteenth century. He published in 1840 his work "What is Property" and to this question he answered that "property is theft." There are at present two types of anarchism, one philosophical anarchism, represented by Prince Kropotkin formerly of Russia who looks upon anarchism as a philosophical idea to be discussed but not to be acted upon. The second group are terrorists and they wish to abolish modern society by means of violence and destruction. Anarchism has never obtained a position of any importance. The second great movement, syndicalism, is a modified form of anarchism. The syndicalists are opposed to the State in a way similar to the anarchists. The reform socialists hoped to bring about change by parliamentary methods. Through the vote, they hoped to get control of the instruments of government and so change the basis of modern society. The syndicalist movement, on the other hand, is a trades union movement and had its origin in France. They claim that political methods are out of date. The only method to be used is what they call "direct action." By this they mean that the use of politics should be given up and their whole struggle should be by means of trades unions obtaining control of industry and overturning through what they call the general strike the present system of society. Syndicalism gets its name from the French word for trades union, "*syndicat,*" and has gained many followers in the trades unions of France. They use what is known as sabotage which means interfering with the processes of production in every possible way. They also are in favor of frequent strikes. These strikes will not be for higher wages or better hours, but their main aim shall be to break down the hold of the employer. In the third place, they are opposed to the trades unions as now organized and they favor what they call "the one big union;" that is, they would organize all labor into one union. Reform socialists have been growing more and more conservative and the syndicalists have appealed to the more extreme element in the labor movement. In recent years there has arisen in England a third movement of social reform, known

The Anarchists.

The Syndicalists.

Syndicalism and Reform Socialism Compared.

as the guild socialist movement. It obtained its idea from the mediæval guild in which the employer and the employee worked side by side.

Guild Socialists.

The idea of the guild socialists is that every industry shall be organized into guilds. These guilds will be composed of the workers both of hand and brain; that gradually the workers will get control of all industry; they do not go to the extreme of the anarchists in that they do not favor the abolition of the state. They separate state from economic action. The soviets of the Russian Revolution are forms of syndicalism and also are somewhat similar to the ideas of the guild socialists. According to the guild socialists each

SUNDAY MARKET IN MOSCOW.

factory would be organized into unions and then the districts would be organized into larger unions and in the third place there would be the whole industry organized into what are known as National Guilds. This movement, as most of these movements, has not originated among the labor class. It has been originated mainly by intellectual leaders of the middle class.[3] The guild socialists are not as extreme as the syndicalists. They would retain the present form of society but gradually organize all professions and trades into guilds. There would be teachers' guilds, lawyers' guilds, shoemakers' guilds, etc.

Two other methods of reform which are more moderate than

[3] For discussion of guild socialism see Cole, G. D. H., Self-Government in Industry; Cole, G. D. H., Labor in the Commonwealth; a list of books on the National Guild Movement may be found in the Survey 41: 643 (Feb. 1, 1919.)

those already described and which do not plan the destruction of private property are the single tax and coöperative movements. The single tax movement as a modern movement may be said to have its origin in the influence of Henry George, the author of "Poverty and Progress." He believed that the private ownership of land was the cause of a great many of our social ills and he advocated the seizure through taxation of the rental value which land obtains as a result of the increase in population. He claimed that the value of land was due to society and he developed what was known as the unearned increment of land, meaning by this that a great part of the increase in value of land is due to something that the owner does not have any part in. He said if society would tax this unearned increase in the value of land it would bring more land into production and cause a greater need for labor; that a great many of the ills of modern society are due to land speculation.

The Single-Taxers.

Still another method of reform that has been advocated is what is known as Coöperation.[4] The coöperative movement originated in England in the early nineteenth century among a group of workers who wished to reduce the cost of living. They established a store in which the stock was owned by the workers themselves. This movement looks upon society from the consumer's viewpoint rather than the producer's. The idea is to eliminate the middleman, to sell from producer to consumer direct. This movement has spread all over the civilized world. In England today there are fifteen hundred societies and three and one half million of share holders with $1,000,000,000 of annual trade. They have coöperative retail stores, coöperative wholesale societies and even engage in manufacturing.[5]

Coöperation.

Political democracy has been a very slow and arduous process. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the movement which led to representation by the people in Parliament had its beginnings in European countries, particularly in England and France, and this popular share in the government was not firmly established in continental European countries until the middle of the nineteenth century. Since the evolution of political democracy has been of such a gradual growth, it must be expected that the development of industrial democracy will be also step by step. In so far as the socialist and labor parties recognize the fact that all social progress takes time, and in so

The Development of Industrial Democracy.

[4] For a good discussion of the coöperative movement, see Harris, The Hope of the Consumer.

[5] This movement has grown more rapidly in European countries because the development of retail stores, such as the department store, has not shown such progress as it has in the United States.

Photo by Chas. J. Clarke.

SEVERAL BLOCKS OF THESE MODEL DWELLINGS ARE ERECTED IN OLD STREET, LONDON. GARDENS ARE ARRANGED BETWEEN THE BLOCKS OF BUILDINGS WHICH ARE MARVELLOUS EXAMPLES OF FORETHOUGHT AND SKILLFUL ARCHITECTURE.

far as they are adapting their programs to this idea, they have been assisting in its advancement; in so far as they have been attempting to hasten the process by radical measures, they have been delaying the movement. It must be understood, then, that industrial democracy is in the process of development. In every country in the Western World the liberal element has been increasing its power. Trades unions have developed and have become a recognized machinery in industrial society. Labor parties have been established and labor members have been chosen to the legislative bodies of various European countries.

In the future, that nation which appeals to the social consciousness of its people; which can bring about coöperation between labor and capital; which can develop *as far as possible* democratic machinery in industry thus harmonizing the relations between capital and labor, this nation will be the nation which will win in the struggle for economic advancement. This is as much a spiritual question, a question of social attitude, as it is one of material and economic advancement. When this shall have been done, then it may be said that a great step has been made toward human brotherhood. [6]

In spite of the adverse criticism of the socialists and other advocates of radical social changes, wonderful progress has been made toward the betterment of the lot of all classes, and the development of the feeling of our common kindredship. James Bryce, the celebrated English publicist describes the growing development of the feeling of a common unity in the following words: "The world is becoming one in an altogether new sense. . . More than four centuries ago the discovery of America marked the first step in the process by which the European races have now gained dominion over nearly the whole earth. . . As the world has been narrower through the new forces science has placed at our disposal. . . the movements of politics, of economics, of thought, in each of their regions, become more closely interwoven. . . Whatever happens in any part of the globe has now a significance for every other part. World History is tending to become *one* History. . ."

International Progress.

The period from 1871-1914 has been styled the period of the armed peace. It was marked by the series of alliances described in previous chapters of this work. During this period military expenses increased with a rapidity greater than the rapid progress of science.

[6] As an illustration of the more scientific attitude now being taken in regard to industrial questions, the recent adoption of the idea of a social survey by the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia is noteworthy. Representatives have been sent to various countries to study what is being done in social, technical and educational fields. These are styled "social welfare attachés." Cf. The Survey, June 11, 1921.

The more the methods of war were perfected, the more costly war became. The burdens of the armed peace were of two kinds, personal and budgetary. The armies of the five great powers in Europe marshalled during times of peace over 4,000,000 men. The French budget prior to 1914 cost $240 annually for each man in the army, not including the cost of food and military materials. The German budget for the year 1913 was over $450,000,000 for the army alone. During the recent war, France lost by the invasion 90 per cent. of her iron ore, 50 per cent. of her coal, 83 per cent. of her foundries, 80 per cent. of the woolen industry. Twenty-seven thousand, seven-hundred and sixty-three factories were destroyed or the materials carried away. The national debt of France increased from $6,400,000,000 to $33,600,000,000 with an annual interest of $1,680,000,000. The national debt of Great Britain increased from less than four billion to about forty billions of dollars.

Although this period may be characterized as the period of the armed peace, more has been done to lessen the evils of and to abolish war than in any other period in the world's history. Over thirty international agreements have been made in regard to matters of common interest as postage, telegraphs, navigation, commerce, sanitation, railways, copyrights, insurance, fisheries, prisons, slave and liquor traffic and labor relations. International associations of various kinds have been formed and methods of arbitration have been established. In our chapters on the League of Nations, we have described the steps by which methods are being taken to mitigate the evils and to abolish war itself as far as possible. All these are paths leading to a wider conception of the common brotherhood of humanity.

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FAROE IS
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Skager Rack
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BALTIC SEA
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
WALES
ENGLAND
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
Hamburg
Free City of Danzig
Berlin
Warsaw
London
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Brussels
BELGIUM
LUX.
GERMANY
Prague
CZECHO SLOV
Brest
Paris
Metz
Frankfort
Rhine
Danube
Vienna
AUSTRIA
FRANCE
BAY OF BISCAY
Berne
SWITZ.
HUNGARY
Bordeaux
Lyons
Milan
Trieste
Venice
Free City of Fiume
Genoa
JUGO SLAV
Marseilles
MONACO
S. MARINO
Zara
ANDORRA
ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
PORTUGAL
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Madrid
Lisbon
CORSICA
Rome
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ALBANIA
SARDINIA
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Avlona
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gibraltar
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MAP

OCEAN
Archangel
Helsingfors
Petrograd
Reval
ESTHONIA
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Vilna
Moscow
Volga
RUSSIA
Perm
SIBERIA
Aral Sea
Volga
Rostov
Odessa
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Danube
Sevastopol
BLACK SEA
Tiflis
CASPIAN SEA
Sofia
BULGARIA
Constantinople
ARMENIA
ZONE OF THE STRAITS
SMYRNA ENCLAVE
Smyrna
AEGEAN SEA
TURKEY
PERSIA
CRETE
CYPRUS
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
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0 100 200 300 400
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC., N.Y.

EUROPE 1921

PART VII

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

CHAPTER I

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

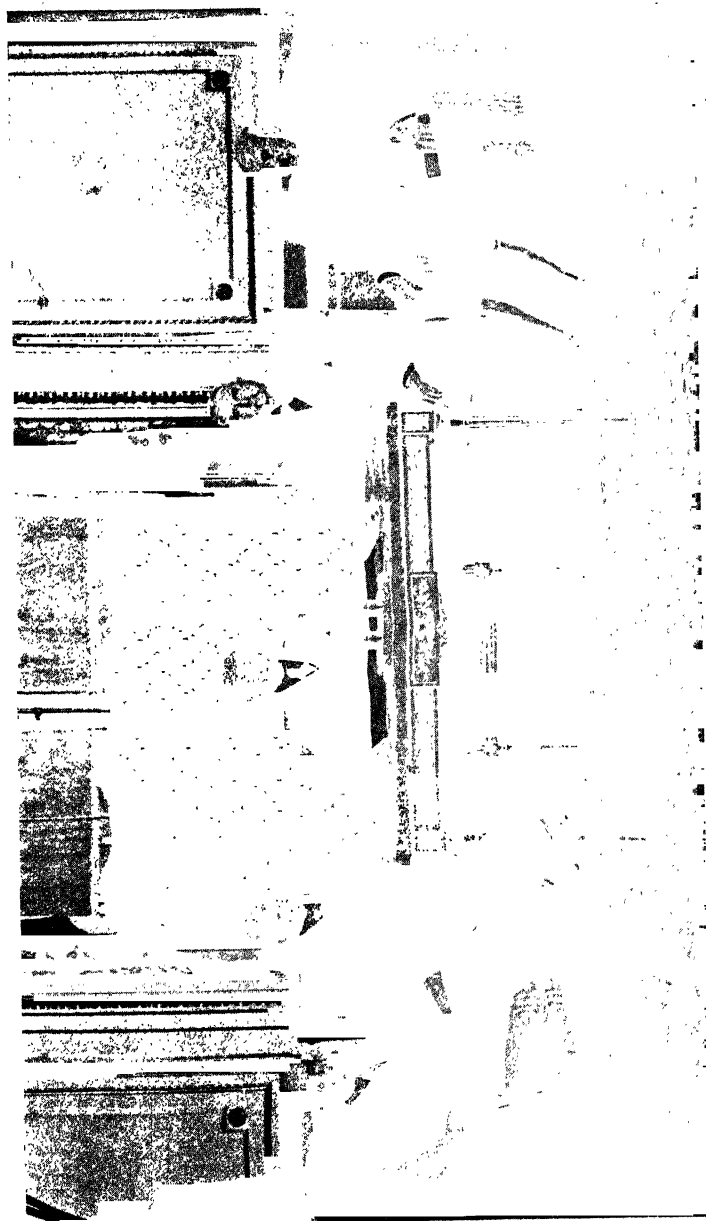
FROM the beginning of the war until our entrance on April 6, 1917, the government of the United States urged a strict neutrality upon its citizens. At the outbreak of the struggle, public opinion did not clearly express itself, nor did the people realize the issues involved. The cosmopolitan character of the population of the United States naturally led to differences in opinion. Many in this country had relatives engaged in the armies of the belligerents; many had but recently come to this country, while others had natural, acquired prejudices such as spontaneously grow in considering the merits of any great struggle. It was the wish of President Wilson that the people of this country be unbiased in their judgments and neutral in their acts. Therefore, August 18, 1914, he appealed for a neutrality of sentiment in the following proclamation:

Attitude of United States toward the War.

"My fellow countrymen: I suppose that every thoughtful man in America has asked himself, during these last troubled weeks, what influence the European War may exert upon the United States, and I take the liberty of addressing a few words to you in order to point out that it is entirely within our own choice what its effects upon us will be, and to urge very earnestly upon you the sort of speech and conduct which will best safeguard the nation against distress and disaster.

Wilson's Proclamation for Neutrality.

"The effect of the war upon the United States will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. The spirit of the nation in this critical matter will be determined largely by what individuals and society and those gathered in public meetings do and say, upon what newspaper and magazines contain, upon what ministers utter in their pulpits, and men proclaim as their opinions on the street.

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among

FIRST PHOTOGRAPH OF THE AMERICAN PEACE DELEGATES IN THE HOTEL CRILLON IN PARIS.
LEFT TO RIGHT ARE, LANSING, PRESIDENT WILSON, WHITE AND BLISS.

them in regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility, responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love of their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans all, bound in honor and affection to think first of her and her interests, may be divided in camps of hostile opinions, hot against each other, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion if not in action.

"Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend.

"I venture, therefore, my fellow countrymen, to speak a solemn word of warning to you against that deepest, most subtle, most essential breach of neutrality which may spring out of partisanship, out of passionately taking sides. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name during these days that are to try men's souls. We must be impartial in thought as well as in action, must put a curb upon our sentiments as well as upon every transaction that might be construed as a preference of one party to the struggle before another.

"My thought is of America. I am speaking, I feel sure, the earnest and purpose of every thoughtful American that this great country of ours which is, of course, the first in our thoughts and in our hearts, should show herself in this time of peculiar trial a nation far beyond others to exhibit the fine poise of undisturbed judgment, the dignity of self control, the efficiency of dispassionate action; a nation that neither sits in judgment upon others nor is disturbed in her own counsels and which keeps herself fit and free to do what is honest and disinterested and truly serviceable for the peace of the world.

"Shall we not resolve to put upon ourselves the restraints which will bring to our people the happiness and the great and lasting influence for peace we covet for them?"

Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality.

This policy of neutrality which was to characterize our attitude until April, 1917, was in general accord with the foreign policy pursued throughout our history, a foreign policy which took its origin in the famous Proclamation of Neutrality issued by Washington in 1793 in which he announced: "Whereas it appears that a state of war exists between

Austria, Prussia, Sardinia, Great Britain, and the United Netherlands of the one part, and France on the other; and the duty and interest of the United States require, that they should with sincerity and good faith adopt and pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent Powers:

"I have therefore thought fit by these presents to declare the disposition of the United States to observe the conduct aforesaid towards those Powers respectively; and to exhort and warn the citizens of the United States carefully to avoid all acts and proceedings whatsoever, which may in any manner tend to contravene such disposition.

"And I do hereby also make known, that whosoever of the citizens of the United States shall render himself liable to punishment or forfeiture under the law of nations, by committing, aiding, or abetting hostilities against any of the said Powers, or by carrying to any of them those articles which are deemed contraband by the modern usage of nations, will not receive the protection of the United States, against such punishment or forfeiture; and further, that I have given instructions to those officers, to whom it belongs, to cause prosecutions to be instituted against all persons, who shall, within the cognizance of the courts of the United States, violate the law of nations, with respect to the Powers at war, or any of them.

"In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with my hand. Done at the city of Philadelphia, the Twenty-second day of April, one-thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the seventeenth."

Policy of Washington's Farewell Address.

The European War was still raging when Washington closed his administration and in his Farewell Address declared: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

The Policy of Non-Intervention.

"Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

"Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to

pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupuously respected. When belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice shall counsel.

"Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, *entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambitions,* rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

"It is our true policy to steer clear of *permanent alliances* with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean as we are *now at liberty to do it,* for let me not be understood as capable of *patronizing infidelity* to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense: But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

"Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

The Policy of Isolation.

The policy inaugurated by Washington announced an aversion to permanent foreign alliances and it pointed out that we were not a part of European strife due to a "detached and distant situation". Although quoted by those opposing our entrance into the World War to prove that such a step would be contrary to a long established foreign policy, it was not contrary to our policy of 1917. Later when President Wilson's foreign policy is studied, it will be found that the policy of Washington is not estranged from that of Wilson so far as alliances are concerned. *The policy of isolation,* as announced by Washington, sprang, no doubt, from his desire to give the country time to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which was to give it the command of its own fortunes. That time is past. We have become one of the leading nations of the world. We have been despoiled of our *"detached and distant"* position by modern means of transportation and communication. Mechanical devices have made us a part of the world and not a part of the western hemisphere only.

The pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 reëmphasized the policies announced by Washington. This doctrine had its incep-

tion in the period following the great struggle with Napoleon in Europe. In a real sense it was the first important announcement of the foreign policy of the young republic of the United States. Especial attention was attracted to it because of the sympathy of the people of the Unites States for their brethren in South America who were struggling for independence from Spain. The public announcement of so comprehensive a foreign policy in complete harmony with the views of Washington had much to do with its popularity at that time as well as later.

The Monroe Doctrine.

Announcement of a definite policy was propitious and timely because of European conditions. The Quadruple Alliance, made up of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and England, strengthened by the adherence of France, had come to assume that the peace of Europe was necessarily dependent upon the checking of all revolutionary tendencies within the European states. Acting on this theory, the Quadruple Alliance had interfered everywhere with the growth of liberal ideas and constitutional government because these ideas were recognized to have been behind the great unheaval in France in 1789. The arguments against liberalism seemed plausible, and only England hesitated to accept them and to act in concert with the other members of the Alliance in suppressing rebellious and liberal aspirations within the national boundaries of the various European States.

The Quadruple Alliance. Influence upon Liberalism.

The South American states had begun their revolt from Spain when Napoleon removed the Spanish king, Ferdinand VII, and set his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain, in order to secure the coöperation of the Spanish troops in his struggle for World Empire. With the overthrow of Napoleon, the South American revolt passed into a definite demand for independence, and Spain was much too busy with the reorganization of her internal affairs to make any serious efforts to reëstablish her authority in the American colonies. When, however, the councils of the Quadruple Alliance had settled upon a policy of repressions and had agreed upon the assistance to be rendered to the individual states, the question of the Spanish colonies in America became acute.

England refused to take any part in the conference of the Quadruple Alliance at Verona on Spanish colonial affairs and made it clear that she was prepared to oppose any attempt at the coercion of the Spanish colonies. Canning, the English foreign minister, suggested to Rush, representive of the United States in England, that the two Powers should unite in opposition to the program of the Alliance.

England and the Quadruple Alliance.

President Monroe, however, was awake to the situation, and without infringing upon the policy of no entangling alliances as set by Washington, issued the statement, which we have since known as the Monroe Doctrine. Its design was to make clear to European powers the attitude of the United States toward the interference of the Alliance in matters pertaining to the American continents.

Pronouncement of Monroe Doctrine.

The Doctrine had two very simple and clear objects in view: first, it was a protest against any attempt of an European power to secure territory in the new world at any future time; second, it was a protest against any future attempt of an European power to introduce the continental system of government or absolute monarchy into any territory of the new world. Both objects aimed primarily at the defense of the United States. It was not sympathy for the struggling states of South America that was the sole motive of the proclamation. To be sure, both government and people did sympathize with a struggle so strongly resembling the one which they had so recently fought, yet it was the *defense* of the United States which prompted the declaration. This is seen in the cabinet discussions preceding the statement of the doctrine, and in the document, which is quoted in part: "At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg to arrange by amicable negotiations the respective rights and interests of the two nations of the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal had been made by His Imperial Majesty for the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous by this friendly proceeding of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor and their solicitude to cultivate the best undertanding with his government. In the discussions to which this interest has arisen and in the arrangements by which they may terminate the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the right and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.

Objects of Monroe Doctrine.

"In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is *only when our rights are invaded* or *seriously men-*

aced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movement in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of all the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of an European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. In the war between those new governments and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security."

The nation was new and its form of government untried on so large a scale. It was not difficult to recognize that every approach of the European powers into the territory of the New World of the development of their despotic form of government therein was a menace to the newly established republican ideas in the United States. If, therefore, it is correct to view the statement of the Monroe Doctrine as the public declaration of our attitude toward foreign powers, it will readily be acknowledged that its evolution is simply the evolution of the foreign policy of a gradually expanding and developing nation. Already in Monroe's time it was seen that trouble could best be avoided by taking cognizance of the lands beyond our own borders from which troubles were likely to come.

If England resented the independent attitude of the United States she recognized clearly enough that the declaration was a strong support to her own position and rendered her the necessary aid in bring-

ing to naught the plans of Continental Europe. Spain continued her attempt to coerce the rebellious states, but the Quadruple Alliance accepted the situation and refrained from giving aid, and through the efforts of the American officials, Spain finally gave up the struggle in order to make safe the territories still left her in western waters.

Effect of Pronouncement of Doctrine

With the tacit acceptance on the part of foreign powers of a distinct American policy, the United States had taken its first and most important step in securing recognition as a member of the company of great nations. The Monroe Doctrine was the national policy of a state now for the first time becoming a power among the great states of a civilized world. Moreover, the high moral purpose of the declaration was to set a new standard among states, so largely was it dominated by a spirit of extreme unselfishness. While defending the place and position of the United States, it was at the same time the recognition of a chance for the new and weak state to make a place for itself among the brotherhood of states. It was, too, the most important blow given to the purpose of the Quadruple Alliance, which was assuming the control of the internal affairs of all states, in order to see the idea of absolute government sustained and perpetuated. President Monroe's declaration was aimed at intrigue intended to uphold and perpetuate the European system in America, where there was no sympathy for it. His message was intended to make *America safe for democracy*; to make America a safe place for the trial of the high purpose of recognizing the civil rights and the political privileges of every man, high or low, as well as to provide that every man might have the right to the "pursuit of happiness" in his own way, so far as this was compatible with the recognition that the South American states had a right to be masters of their own destiny.

The Spanish-American states had looked longingly to the American states for sympathy and support. Their representation had strongly urged political as well as financial aid from the northern state. One after another the Spanish-American states had sought to secure order and power by the acceptance of the form of government of the United States, so that in 1823 America presented almost a solid phalanx of the republican form of government.

The Interpretation of Doctrine by South America.

None of the newly organized states read the Monroe Doctrine too carefully. For all of them the message was one of alliance with the state that had already recognized the belligerent character of their independence. This tendency to read their own interpretation into the doctrine was very general among the struggling states and certainly

gave to them all a new hope in quite an inverse ratio to the despondency created among the advocates of the old-world policy.

Hardly had President Monroe given place to President Adams when the administration was asked to interpret the American Doctrine. Brazil, not yet recognized by Portugal as independent, sought an alliance with the United States to secure this recognition. The Secretary of State, Mr. Clay, refused the alliance. While maintaining the principle of former president Monroe's statement, he declared: "If there should be a renewal of demonstrations on the part of the European Allies against the independence of American States, the President would give to the condition of things every consideration which its importance would undoubtedly demand." In his instruction to our Mexican minister he asked him especially to call to the attention of the Mexican government the message of Mr. Monroe and to ask the coöperation of Mexico in asserting the same principles. Then, since the situation of Cuba continued to be serious, he added, "The United States have no desire to aggrandize themselves by the acquisition of Cuba, and yet if that island is to be made a dependency of any one of the American states, it is impossible not to allow that the law of its position proclaims that it should be attached to the United States." He asserted that the United States would have just cause for alarm should Cuba pass to the possession of any other European power, and while the United States "are not disposed themselves to interfere with the present actual state they could not see with indifference any change (even American) that may be attempted in it." In this case Mr. Clay made an interpretation of the Doctrine not necessary in the time of President Monroe. First of all, the United States could not view without apprehension the transfer of an European colony to another European state, and likewise, in this particular case, of Cuba to an American state other than the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine in Adams' Administration.

In connection with suspicion aroused by the presence of a French fleet in the West Indies and a French convoy of Spanish transports the United States secured from France a disavowal of intent to take possession of Cuba and a promise that in the future the presence of such a fleet in American waters should be preceded by an explanation of its purpose. These negotiations elicited from Clay, Secretary of State, a statement of President Adams' interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. This interpretation was doubly important since the President, having been Secretary of State under President Monroe, was able to give the Doctrine another meaning intended by its creator:

"The United States have contracted no engagement, nor made

any pledge to the governments of Mexico and South America or to either of them. . . . but if indeed an attempt by force had been made by allied Europe to subvert the liberties, etc. . . . . . . the people of the United States would have stood pledged, in the opinion of the executive, not to any foreign state but to themselves and to their posterity, by the dearest interests, and highest duties, to resist to the utmost such attempt."

The Monroe Doctrine in Polk's Administration.

The administration of President Polk saw the rise of many embarrassments in our foreign relations. He had been elected upon a platform prepared in the interests of the annexation of Texas to prevent her by alliance or other expedient from embroiling us with European powers. There had been some apprehension on that arrangement with Spain. Great Britain was preparing for a possible occupation of the Isthmus of Panama. Our representative in Venezuela reported a South American congress called to oppose the advance of the United States upon the American continent. There was much anxiety regarding the destiny of California, "which Santa Anna had recently offered to cede to England." These matters coming in connection with the Mexican war, and many others of serious import forced the president to invoke again the aid of of the Monroe Doctrine. While trying to instil into the South American states a desire for a distinct American policy he renewed his assertions that "It is well known to the American people and to all nations that this Government has never interfered with the relations subsisting between our governments. We have never made ourselves parties to their wars or their alliances; we have not sought their territories by conquest; we have not mingled with parties in their domestic struggles; and believing our own form of government to be the best, we have never attempted to propagate it by intrigues, by diplomacy, or by force. We may claim on this continent a like exemption from European interference. The nations of America are equally sovereign and independent with those of Europe. They possess the same right, independent of all foreign interposition to make war, to conclude peace, and to regulate their internal affairs. The people of the United States cannot therefore, view with indifference attempts of European powers to interfere with the independent action of the nations on this continent. The American system of government is entirely different from that of Europe. Jealousy among the different sovereigns of Europe, lest any one of them might become too powerful for the rest, has caused them anxiously to desire the establishment of what they term the 'balance of power.' It cannot be permitted to have any application on the North American continent, and especially to the United States.

We must ever maintain the principle that the people of this continent alone have the right to decide their own destiny. Should any portion of them, constituting an independent state, propose to unite themselves with our confederacy, this will be a question for them and us to determine with out any foreign interposition. We can never consent that European powers shall interfere to prevent such a union because it might disturb the 'balance power' which they may desire to maintain upon this continent. Near a quarter of a century ago the principle was distinctly announced to the world in the annual message of one of my predecessors, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

"This principle will apply with greatly increased force should any European power attempt to establish any new colony in North America. In the existing circumstances of the world the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principles avowed by Mr. Monroe and to state my cordial concurrence in its wisdom and sound policy. The reassertion of this principle, especially in reference to North America, is at this day, but promulgation of a policy which no European power should cherish the disposition to resist. Existing rights of every European nation should be respected, but it is due alike to our safety and our interests that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy that no future European colony or dominion shall with our consent be planted or established on any part of the North American continent."

President Polk restated more emphatically Mr. Clay's statement of our obligation by the assertion that the United States was pledged to resist the violation of the Doctrine. He, however, was less ready to apply this to South America than to North America, believing that in North America the policy was more vital to our self protection.

The Monroe Doctrine and New Granada.

A distinctly new interpretation was given to the doctrine by the negotiation of a treaty with New Granada which "pledged the United States to guarantee the neutrality of Panama and the Sovereignty of New Granada over it." The President defended this treaty on the ground of its being for purely commercial purposes and added that New Granada expected like guarantees from England and France.

Before the close of Polk's administration Buchanan, then Secre-

tary of State, voiced the more matured American policy. "The nations of this continent are placed in a peculiar position. Their interest and independence require that they should establish and maintain an American system of policy for their protection and security entirely distinct from that which has so long prevailed in Europe. To tolerate any interference on the part of European governments with controversies in America, and to suffer them to establish new colonies of their own intermingled with our free republics, would be to make, to the same extent, a voluntary sacrifice of our independence. These truths ought everywhere throughout the continent of America to be impressed on the public mind." There is here a clearly implied intention of taking South America into our confidence and of securing her coöperation in the enforcement of an American policy.

Period 1849 to 1865.

The period from 1849 to the end of the Civil War was one in which the Monroe Doctrine was gradually changing from a somewhat theoretical policy into the great fact of American foreign policy. The period was one full of controversies. Our acquisition of California and New Mexico, our relations with Central America and Yucatan aroused a hostile sentiment in both England and France. The revolutionary movements in South America together with their suspicion of the United States due to our relations with Mexico, gave European powers an excellent opportunity to bait the United States government. The persistent desire of some of the South American states to secure an alliance with the United States and a guarantee of their independence, added to our embarrassments. It is impossible here to enter into details regarding the problems which arose. Throughout the period the Monroe Doctrine was, in its general sense, maintained, though little mentioned. The broader outlook made the government assume a like attitude over the Pacific Islands and marked the extension of the Doctrine to the Pacific side of the United States; but the general feeling regarding the older American policy is fairly well expressed in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, a treaty marking rather distinctly a departure from the older practice and supported by Clayton on the theory that a resort to the Monroe Doctrine would be a failure. He was of the opinion, however, that should England break "the Clayton-Bulwer treaty by misconstruction, he would vote to drive her from Central America under color of the Monroe Doctrine."

The most important support of the policy during the period was given by Seward. Even before the opening of the Civil War there had been complications with Mexico, and Seward was prepared for the

interference of the foreign powers in this unhappy country. Throughout the period he persisted in his state papers, in making clear to all the powers concerned, that the United States had in no wise departed from her older attitude. He was, however, respectful and conservative. The fear lest France should succeed in uniting with the Southern Confederacy and in seizing the Isthmian route made him wary. With consummate skill he kept up negotiations regarding French interference in Mexico, until the war closed, and then forced the withdrawal to the French forces by a firm request to the French Government of fix the time of their retirement. With the close of his career he was able to write: "What remains, and all that remains now necessary in the establishment of an entire tolerance between the North American States and the South American republics is the creation of a mutual moral alliance, to the end that all external aggression may be prevented, and that internal peace, law, and order and progress may be secured throughout the continent."

Seward's Interpretation of the Doctrine.

Since the Civil War several events have occurred which have somewhat broadened the application of the Monroe Doctrine. President Cleveland interfered in the quarrel between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundaries because the dispute was, in effect, a violation of the American doctrine. Great Britain saw fit to arbitrate the dispute with Venezuela without, however, admitting Mr. Cleveland's assertions, and the matter was closed. Nevertheless a precedent was set for a somewhat new interpretation of the American policy.

The discussion with England over the control of the Isthmian canal which led the Hay-Paunceforte treaty further modified the older doctrine by giving the United States a preponderance of influence in Central America. It may be that this control is as yet insufficient but it is certainly greater than it could have been without the treaty. Moreover, the strengthening of our commerce with South America, as a result of the building of the canal, has been so great as to make clearer the significance of our position in Central America, and in the Caribbean Sea, as well as in the West Indies. Our National defense demands that we shall more and more assume the most definite position tenable under the Monroe Doctrine. This attitude, or necessity, is seen in the position taken by President Roosevelt in relation to the island of San Domingo, in which he held that, should the island find it necessary to place itself in the hands of a receiver because of its financial obligations to some foreign power, the United States must assume that office. Later, in 1911,

Effect of Hay-Paunceforte Treaty.

San Domingo.

Mr. Knox, as Secretary of State, assumed the same attitude toward Honduras and Nicaragua although in neither case did the Senate ratify the treaty. The same attitude was taken by President Wilson in relation to the matter of granting foreign concessions by Colombia.

The Growth of the Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine has grown by interpretation continually as time passed. The majority of American statesmen have found it the real basis for a sound American policy. None, in the interpretation which has broadened its application, have hesitated to start from the Doctrine itself. In the period since the Civil War our statesmen have followed its principles more keenly and with less hesitation than ever before; European powers have the more readily accepted it as the American Doctrine.

The statesmen of America have long since recognized that the time was near at hand when the United States must in effect step forth from her *isolation*. With the growth of trade and commerce, and the expansion of our territory and the establishment of our own institutions upon a sound basis, the possibility of long continued isolation has become more and more remote. The growth of population and the firm establishment of our form of government have brought to us a large responsibility from the affairs of the world. Since our participation in the great colonial conference called by the German Government in Berlin in 1884-85, the larger view of America's place in the council of nations has grown apace.

Effect of Spanish-American War.

Finally, the Spanish-American War was to Europeans an announcement of our intention. The seizure of the Philippine Islands by the United States and their retention at the close of the war, both in spirit and intent, has been paralleled over and over by England in the history of her expansion.

The United States a World Power.

England, France, and Germany have thought of us and have written of us even before the war as having entered the race for world expansion which to them so generally meant the securing of strategic places, the addition of free territory for the purpose of better protection of their commerce, and the addition of supplies and of raw materials. Inexperienced in such a course of expansion we have, as a people, viewed our seizure or purchase of islands here and there as nobody's business but our own, and have not realized the interest taken by European powers in this expansion of territory. Unconsciously we became a world power and an international factor. A new policy, international in character, has been developing. This new international policy in no way alters the Monroe Doctrine. Internationalism is an addition to our foreign

policy. It is a part of the larger social consciousness of the present day and something of a recognition of the *moral responsibility for the progress of the world.* Our missionaries, our commercial leaders and our statesman all have had a part in the development of this moral responsibility. The missionaries have proclaimed it since an early day and they have done their part in the education of our people to this larger trust and greater responsibility. The assistance of the United States troops in defeating the Boxer uprising in China and in leaving Chinese territory inviolate, our natural interest in European efforts to establish democratic forms of government, our sympathy with the oppressed peoples of the Turkish dominions, our call to take part in the councils of Europe regarding colonial matters, our participation in the Hague treaties, and our continuous participation in arbitration proceedings because of our general attitude and geographical position, our activity and definite attitude toward far eastern affairs, our phenomenal commercial development and the war with Spain; all these and many other more or less intangible causes have gradually led our people to begin to think in larger terms regarding world affairs. To get the nation to think in terms of internationalism has been a long and difficult process.

The Spanish-American War thrust upon us problems of a world character. When European powers acclaimed us one of themselves after the struggle, we could not realize our position and hesitated to admit the case. We had not wanted the Philippines, and only necessity and the dictates of humanity led us to retain them. However, such men as Cleveland, Taft, Hay, Root, and many others versed in the long history of colonization, saw the justice of Europe's claims and set to work to justify our action by a just and equitable administration of the islands, while allowing the process of a change of thought to find its way slowly through the ranks of the nation.

Thus, before the outbreak of the war in August, 1914, the United States had definitely begun to think in terms of internationalism.

Growth of Internationalism.

We had organized international peace societies for the discovery of bases for world peace and we actively engaged in promoting the ideas of peace for Europe as well as for ourselves. Yet it was difficult for the American people to realize that the much-revered policy of *isolation* and *non-intervention* could no longer hold the fore in our foreign relations. Unwittingly we were a part of the world. Communication and transportation brought us into a close alliance with Europe. Commercial intercourse had caused interdependence between Europe and the United

States. With these changes had come a world responsibility just as great as that which had forced the development of our early foreign policy.

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CHAPTER II

NEUTRAL RIGHTS: RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN, 1914–1917

THE entrance of the great nations of Europe into a struggle of the character of the Great War brought forth a big problem for neutral nations, especially for those concerned in trade with the belligerents. The most important of these neutral nations was the United States. At the outbreak of the war, the American Ambassador at London, through the request of our state department, made inquiry regarding Great Britain's attitude toward naval warfare, asking whether "the laws of the naval warfare as laid down by the Declaration of London of 1909 be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict in Europe." Similar inquiries were sent to Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Petrograd, and Brussels. The Declaration of London, which the United States referred to in our notes, had been signed by ten powers: Germany, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Russia, the Netherlands, Austria-Hungary and the United States. It had two purposes. In the first place, it was to furnish the rules to govern the International Prize Court which had been provided for by the second Hague Peace Conference to determine appeals from national prize courts in time of war; and in the second place, to codify the rules of maritime warfare, with the understanding that the acceptance of the rules by these ten powers would lead to acceptance by others. In the notes of inquiry sent out by our government it was suggested that the Declaration be applicable upon the condition of the adoption of its rules by all the belligerent powers because such "an acceptance of the laws by the belligerent would prevent grave misunderstandings which may arise as to the relations between neutral powers and belligerents." Germany and Austria-Hungary agreed; Russia decided to follow the lead of Great Britain. The latter "decided to adopt generally the rules and regulations of the Declaration in question subject to certain modifications and additions." The most important of these modifications consisted in new lists of absolute and conditional contraband and the limitation of the doctrine of continuous voyage to absolute contraband. Due to the action of Great Britain, the United States notified all of the belligerents that the proposal was withdrawn and stated that the Government would "insist that the rights and duties of the

The Declaration of London.

United States and its citizens in the present war be defined by the existing rules of international law and the treaties of the United States irrespective of the Declaration of London."

The list of contraband articles was immediately extended by England, to her advantage and to the neutral carrier's disadvantage. Our vessels were seized upon the high seas, taken into her ports for examination and often detained for weeks. Some of the ships which carried copper were stopped, for it was believed they were destined for the Krupp Works at Essen in Germany; some were tankers belonging to the Standard Oil Company. In September 1914, in comparison with September 1915, our exports in gasoline, naptha, etc., rose from 20,000,000 gallons to 23,000,000 gallons; fuel oil from 36,000,000 to 58,000,000. What contraband was had never been fully determined, each nation as a belligerent generally deciding her own list. During the Civil War, President Lincoln had listed as contraband "all articles from which ammunition is manufactured," and Secretary-of-State Hay during the Boxer troubles in China had placed both raw cotton and copper upon such a list. Therefore, although the Government of the United States objected to Great Britain's inclusion of such materials as copper, yet it was forced to suffer some embarrassment in the light of past lists of her own.

Contraband Lists.

On November 2, the British Admiralty announced that the whole North Sea was a military area. For some weeks past the Germans had placed mines in the waters north of Ireland. These mines had been placed, so the British claimed, not by a warship but by a merchant vessel "flying a neutral flag." To meet the condition Great Britain declared the whole North Sea "a military zone." Within this zone vessels of all kinds were exposed to destruction from mines. After November 5, all vessels "passing a line drawn from the northern point of the Hebrides, through the Faroe Islands to Iceland, did so at their own peril." Sailing directions were to be given to ships bound for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, by way of the English Channel to the Strait of Dover.

The Military Zone of Great Britain.

On December 31, a communication to the British Government from Secretary Bryan indicated our opposition to the policy which was being carried out by England. Trade between neutrals should not be interfered with unless absolutely necessary, Mr. Bryan pointed out, and detention of those ships bound for neutral countries, which had not forbidden the exports of such articles, was unwarranted. The Government of the United States granted the right of visit and search on the high seas "when there is sufficient evidence to justify a belief that contraband

Attitude of United States.

articles are in their cargoes," but it objected to the British practice of taking American ships into British ports to search for evidence of contraband. The British reply stated that they were "confronted with the growing danger that neutral countries contiguous to the enemy will become on a scale, hitherto unprecedented, a base of supplies for the armed forces of our enemies and for materials for manufacturing armament. The trade figures of imports show how strong this tendency is, but we have no complaint to make of the attitude of the governments of those countries which so far as we are aware have not departed from proper rules of neutrality. We endeavor in the interest of our own national safety to prevent this danger by intercepting goods really destined for the enemy, without interfering with those which are for bona fide neutrals."

To justify the British Orders in Council to which the United States objected, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, cited northern practice in our Civil War. "It may be noted in this connection," said he, "that at the time of the Civil War the United States found themselves under the necessity of declaring a blockade of some 3000 miles of coast line, a military operation for which the number of vessels available was at first small. It was vital to the cause of the United States in that great struggle that they should be able to cut off the trade of the Southern States. The Confederate Armies were dependent on supplies from overseas, and those supplies could not be obtained without exporting the cotton wherewith to pay for them.

Practice of the United States in the Civil War.

"To cut off this trade the United States could only rely upon a blockade. The difficulties confronting the Federal Government were in part due to the fact that the neighboring neutral territory afforded convenient centers from which contraband would be introduced into the territory of their enemies and from which blockade running could be facilitated. Your excellency will no doubt remember how, in order to meet these new difficulties the old principle relating to the contraband and blockade were developed and the doctrine of continuous voyage was applied and enforced, under which goods destined for the enemy territory were intercepted before they reached the neutral ports from which they were to be re-exported.

"The difficulties which imposed upon the United States the necessity of reshaping some of the old rules are somewhat akin to those with which the Allies are now forced in dealing with the trade of their enemy. Adjacent to Germany are various neutral countries which afforded her convenient opportunities for carrying on her trade with foreign countries. . . . A blockade limited to enemy ports would

leave open routes by which every kind of German commerce could pass almost as easily as through the ports of her territory. . . . ."

In all of our controversy with Great Britain, however, we must notice one great point lacking which was characteristic of our discussion with Germany: the destruction of human lives. Whatever cargoes were confiscated Great Britain agreed to pay for, and reimbursement was to be offered for all damage done to American interests. Germany could never pay for the American lives she sacrificed in her submarine campaign.

The Neutral Flag.

Another cause for discussion with Great Britain was the flying of a neutral flag by a belligerent nation upon the sea. This practice has never been forbidden by international law, virtually all nations, the United States included, concurring in its use. Specific endorsement for it was given by Germany in the German Prize Ordinance, of August 3, 1914, and German ships had resorted to its use. Article 82 of the German Prize Ordinance reads: "During a pursuit the war ensign need not be displayed, and the use of any merchant flag is permitted." Great Britain had also endeavored to preserve her ships by this method, one of the most notable instances being the Lusitania, whose captain at the request of Americans aboard, had hoisted the American flag after leaving England. In view of this fact Germany complained that the British Government had authorized the use of the flag as a "ruse de guerre," in order to escape a German submarine. However, Great Britain, on February 7th, had issued a memorandum in which she had justified the use of the neutral flag as a "ruse de guerre," stating "the only effect in the case of a merchantman of wearing a flag other than her national flag is to compel the enemy to follow the ordinary obligations of naval warfare, and to satisfy himself as to the nationality of the vessel and the character of the cargo by examination before capturing her and taking her into a Prize Court for adjudication. . . . No breach of international law is thereby committed."

In reply to Germany's complaint respecting England's use of the flag, Secretary-of-State Bryan admitted the propriety of the use of the flag occasionally in order to deceive an approaching enemy; yet he was opposed to the "explicit sanction by a belligerent government for its merchant ships generally to fly the flag of a neutral power, within certain portions of the high seas which are presumed to be frequented with hostile warships." He believed such a practice would jeopardize "the vessels of the neutrals visiting those waters in a peculiar degree by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality regardless of the flag which they carry." This protest to

Great Britain, February 10th, bore with it this additional statement: "A policy such as the one which her Majesty's Government is said to intend to adopt would, if the declaration of the German admiralty is put in force, it seems clear, afford no protection to British vessels, while it would be a serious and constant menace to the lives and vessels of American citizens." Such a practice would place upon the government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force, thought Mr. Bryan.

When Great Britain replied on February 19th to Secretary Bryan, an attempt to justify the use of the neutral flag was made.

"Now that the German Government have announced their intention to sink merchant vessels at sight, with their noncombatant crews, cargoes and papers, a proceeding hitherto regarded by the opinion of the world not as war, but as piracy, it is felt that the United States Government could not fairly ask the British Government to order British Merchant vessels to forego the means—always hitherto permitted—of escaping not only capture but the much worse fate of sinking and destruction. . .

"The obligation upon a belligerent warship to ascertain definitely for itself the nationality and character of a merchant vessel before capturing it, and destroying it, has been universally recognized. If that obligation is fulfilled, hoisting a neutral flag on board a British vessel cannot possibly endanger neutral shipping; and the British Government holds that, if loss to neutrals is caused by disregard of this obligation, it is upon the enemy vessel disregarding it and upon the government giving orders that it should be disregarded that the sole responsibility for injury to neutrals ought to rest."

In her argument, Great Britain was right, for Germany had no justification for sinking ships without first examining the nature of the cargo and saving the non-combatant passengers. The use of the neutral flag by England did not release Germany from her obligations to abide by international law and to respect the rights of humanity, irrespective of the argument relative to the legality of the use of the flag.

Justification of Great Britain.

SUGGESTED READINGS

War Cyclopædia. Look up "Blockade;" "Declaration of London;" "Embargo, British;" "War Zone, British "

New York Times Current History II, 275-278; 1057-1063 (May, September, 1915.)

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CHAPTER III

RELATIONS WITH GERMANY: THE SUBMARINE CONTROVERSY

IN order to retaliate for Great Britain's commercial policy, Germany established a war zone. Within this restricted area which included the whole English channel and "the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland" all enemy merchant ships were to be destroyed after February 18th, 1915. The decree also forewarned neutral powers "not to continue to entrust their crews, passengers, or merchandise to such vessels" because of the "hazards of war and of the misuse of the neutral flag" ordered by the British Government. It would not always be possible "to prevent a neutral vessel from becoming the victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy." The waters north of the Shetland Islands, the eastern part of the North Sea, and a zone thirty marine miles wide along the Dutch coast were outside the danger zone.

War Zone Decree.

This astounding document was sent to our government with the explanation that such "retaliatory measures had been rendered necessary" by England's methods in which the neutral powers, so Germany said, had, in the main, acquiesced. In order to gain control of the sea her purpose was "to destroy merchant vessels under any and all circumstances and subject to no restrictions." She openly stated furthermore, that it was universal opinion "that destruction is permissible only in certain exceptional cases and always subject to the observance of certain rules by the captor." [1]

Such a decree was plainly outside the common practices of international law. The Second Hague Conference had declared that *even enemy merchant ships* in ignorance of the outbreak of hostilities could not be confiscated, but were liable to detention, requisition, or even destruction, upon payment of compensation, "but in such cases provision must be made for the safety of the persons on board as well as the security of the ship's papers." At the same conference it was also decreed that the neutrals in the crew of a belligerent ship which had been captured could not be made prisoners of war, and the same rule applied if the enemy members of the crew promised in writing "not to undertake while

Provisions of the Second Hague Conference

[1] Garner, "International Law in the European War, War Zones and Submarine Warfare," Am. J. of International Law, IX, 594, 616.

hostilities lasted, any services connected with the operations of the war." Such statements surely deny the right to take non-combatant lives. The Declaration of London, which permitted destruction in cases of "exceptional necessity," insisted that before the vessel was destroyed "*all persons on board must be placed in safety* and all the ship's papers and other documents which the parties interested consider relevant for the purpose of deciding on the validity of the capture must be taken on board the warship."

The Use of the Neutral Flag no Justification for the Decree.

In her war zone proclamation, Germany had pointed out that Great Britain had ordered the use of neutral flags on her ships and that therefore, it would "not always be possible to prevent a neutral vessel from becoming a victim of an attack intended to be directed against a vessel of the enemy." On February 19, Great Britain's reply said that the British shipping act allowed foreign merchant vessels to use the British flag, if it aided in an escape and that other nations had permitted similar practices. During the American Civil War northern vessels had followed such a practice. In fact, the use of the neutral flag was not uncommon and warships frequently raised flags other than their own with propriety, if they employed their own colors before going into action. Therefore, a war ship had no right to capture or sink a vessel without first "ascertaining definitely for itself the nationality and character of a merchant vessel before capturing it."

The Note of February 10th.

The first serious strain in our friendly relations with Germany came over her use of submarines against merchant vessels. On February 10, we called the attention of the Imperial Goverment of Germany to the danger of destroying American vessels and American lives.

"It is of course not necessary to remind the German Government that the sole right of a belligerent in dealing with neutral vessels on the high seas is limited to visit and search, unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained, which the Government does not understand to be proposed in this case. To declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Governent of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible. The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags improperly can create no just presumption that all ships traversing a prescribed area are subject to the same suspicion. It is to determine exactly such questions that this Government

understands the right of visit and search to have been recognized. . . If such a deplorable situation should arise the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged right on the high seas." [2]

Suggestions of Bryan for Settlement of Question.

On February 20, Secretary-of-State Bryan addressed identical notes to Great Britain and Germany in the effort to secure some basis of settlement, for which he suggested the following:

1. That neither Germany nor Great Britain should sow floating mines on the high seas, nor plant anchored mines except within common range of harbors; and that all mines should bear the stamp of the Government planting them and be so made that they would become harmless when they had drifted from their moorings.

2. That submarines should not be used by either for the purpose of attacking merchantman except to visit and search.

3. That each prohibit the use of the neutral flag to protect its merchant ships.

To Great Britain it was suggested, in addition to the General points applicable to both Germany and England, that she agree that foods and foodstuffs be not made absolute contraband, nor interfered with nor detained if consigned to American agencies in Germany and distributed by them for the use of non-combatants only. To Germany, the special suggestion was made, that she agree that all foodstuffs sent from the United States be consigned to agencies chosen by the United States, which would have charge of the receipt and distribution of all importations, which was to be only to retailers licensed by the German Government; and that such foodstuffs would not be requisitioned by the German Government for any purpose.

Attitude of Germany to Bryan's Suggestions.

The German Government acquiesced in regard to the floating mines and the construction of anchored mines, but objected to renouncing anchored mines for the purpose of offense. Germany was willing, furthermore, to employ submarines against merchant vessels only in so far as necessary to carry out the right of visit and search. If the ship were proved to be that of the enemy or contraband was found, the submarine

[2] Am. J. Int. Law, Sp'l Supplement., July 1915, 86-87.

should act according to international law "contingent on the fact" that enemy merchant ships did not use neutral flags or other "neutral distinctive marks" and were not armed. In general the regulation of importation of foods was acceptable, but the allied governments must allow the free importation into Germany of the raw materials on the free list of the Declaration of London.

Our government sent a note to Great Britain also in which it was pointed out how serious the consequences might be to American vessels and American citizens if the practice of using a neutral flag continued, should Germany carry out her submarine policy; and declared that we viewed with anxiety any general use of our flag inasmuch as "such practice would greatly endanger the vessels of a friendly power navigating those waters, and would seem to impose upon the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force."

The Note to Great Britain.

On January 28th the American ship William P. Frye had been sunk by the German auxiliary cruiser Prinz Eitel Frederick. For the sinking of this ship our government presented a bill for the damages, which the German Government signified a willingness to pay. American rights were next infringed upon when a German submarine torpedoed the British passenger steamship Falaba, March 28, 1915, and an American citizen bound for Africa, (Leon C. Thrasher) lost his life. Without regard for their statement that it was far from their intention to destroy neutral lives and property, the American steamer Cushing was attacked April 28th, by a German airship when it was about twenty-five miles from Antwerp. May 1st, the Gulflight, an American oil tanker, was torpedoed, but did not sink, when off the Scilly Islands on her way toward Rouen, France.

The Sinking of the William P. Frye and other ships.

The same day upon which the Gulflight was torpedoed the following notice to travelers appeared in our newspapers:

"Travelers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles, that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters, and that travelers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY.
Washington, D. C. April 22, 1915."

Warning to American Travelers.

In this warning there is no vessel named, but a message of April 22nd, to the German Embassy, which was later deciphered, indicated that Germany had definitely planned the destruction of the Cunard liner Lusitania, which sailed from New York, May first, with 1,251 passengers and a crew of 667. When eight miles off the south coast of Ireland, May 7th, she was struck by two German torpedoes and soon sank. Many of the passengers were at luncheon when the torpedoes struck, and 1,153 were drowned. Among this number on board were 188 Americans, 114 of whom lost their lives. *No warning was given.*

The Lusitania.

To destroy a ship *without warning* was clearly beyond the right of any nation. Germany herself, furthermore, had acquiesced in that part of the Declaration of London which stated that in case of the destruction of a ship, "all persons on board must be placed in safety." Obviously, consideration for the rights of humanity had no part in the German program.

Before the Government of the United States could offer a protest, two communications from Germany reached America. In the first, the German Government desired to express its deepest sympathy at the loss of lives on board the Lusitania. "The responsibility rests, however," it was said, "*with the British Government*, which through its plan of starving the civilian population of Germany has forced Germany to resort to retaliating measures.

"In spite of the German offer to stop the submarine war in case the starvation plan was given up, British merchant vessels are being generally armed with guns and have repeatedly tried to ram submarines so that a previous search was impossible . . .

"If England after repeated official and unofficial warnings considers herself able to declare that that boat ran no risk, and thus light-heartedly assumed the responsibility for the human life on board a steamship which, owing to its armament and cargo, was liable to destruction, the German Government, in spite of its heartfelt sympathy for the loss of American lives, cannot but regret that Americans felt more inclined to trust to English promises than to pay attention to the warnings from the German side."

In the second note, Germany explained her policy relative to neutral ships in the war zone. Under all circumstances submarine commanders had been ordered to respect neutral ships and avoid attacks. "Even when such ships have contraband of war on board they are dealt with by submarines solely according to the rules of international law applying to prize warfare," she declared.

On May 13th, the Secretary of State sent the protest of the United States to Germany. This was the first of a series of notes in which President Wilson stated and defended the right of neutral nations. This protest stated that "having understood the instructions of the Imperial German Government to its naval commanders to be upon the same plan of humane action prescribed by the naval codes of other nations, the government of the United States was loath to believe—it cannot now bring itself to believe—that these acts so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practices and the spirit of modern warfare, could have the countenance or sanction of the great Government. It feels it to be its duty, therefore, to address the Imperial German Government concerning them with the utmost frankness and in the earnest hope that it is not mistaken in expecting action on the part of the Imperial German Government which will correct the unfortunate impressions which have been created and vindicate once more the position of that Government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas."

The Protest of the United States.

The note further assumed that the Government of Germany accepted "the rule that the lives of non-combatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put into jeopardy by the destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag.

"The Government of the United States therefore, desires to call the attention of the Imperial German Government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in *the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity, which all modern opinion regards as imperative.* It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts, it is understood, the Imperial German Government frankly admits. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received.

Manifestly submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity."

The note laid great stress upon the "indisputable rights" of American citizens to travel "wherever their legitimate business calls them upon the high seas, and exercise those rights in what should be the well-justified confidence that their lives will not be endangered by acts done in clear violation of universally acknowledged international obligations, and certainly in the confidence that their own Government will sustain them in the exercise of their rights."

Our government went on to point out, also, that the advertisement of the German Embassy which appeared in the newspapers before the Lusitania sailed and which had warned Americans to keep out of the war zone was a communication of "surprising irregularity" and "that no warning that an unlawful and inhumane act will be committed can possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation for that act or as an abatement of the responsibility for its commission."

"Expressions of regret," said the notes, "and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations, if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice, the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks."

Germany's Reply to our Protest.

The reply of Germany came May 28th, and disclaimed any intention, in the case of the Cushing and Gulflight, of attacking neutral vessels. In regard to the Falaba, the communication declared that the commander of the submarine had intended to give the crew and passengers a chance to save their lives, but the English captain sent up rockets for help, and therefore warning was given that the boat would be sunk in ten minutes. Regret, so the note said, had already been expressed regarding the loss of life on the Lusitania, but Germany wished to point out certain facts concerning this vessel which seemed to be unknown to the Government of the United States. The Lusitania was a large and fast commerce vessel, made with government funds to be used as an auxiliary cruiser; that when this ship left New York she carried guns mounted under the deck and masked; and because of the instructions issued by the British Admiralty that merchant vessels should ram submarines, the German Government was unable longer to consider English merchant vessels as "undefended territory;" and, therefore, German commanders were no longer in a

position to observe the rules of capture otherwise usual. And furthe., that, on her last trip the Lusitania, as on earlier occasions, had Canadian troops and munitions on board, including no less than 5400 cases of ammunition destined for the destruction of German soldiers. The explosion of ammunition on board was undoubtedly responsible for the rapid sinking of the ship, which precluded the rescue of the passengers, concluded the reply.

This response to our protest of May 13th, in no way disproved our contention that the sinking of the Lusitania was illegal, nor did it answer the main statements of the American note, namely, that submarines could not be used against commerce in accordance with the practice of international law and the dictates of humanity, and that reparation should be made and promises for the future should be given.

June 1st, we received another communication from Germany which dealt more fully with the cases of the Gulflight and the Cushing.

Germany's Note of June 1.

The attack on the former was characterized as "an unfortunate accident," due to mistaken identity and full recompense would be furnished for damage done to American citizens; the attack on the latter was not "aimed at any American ship" but this case had not yet been fully investigated.

Eight days later our government replied to the German government disagreeing with her statements regarding the Lusitania carrying armament for offensive purposes, serving as a transport, carrying illegal cargo, or being a British auxiliary vessel. We proceeded to protest strongly against the policy of frightfulness which seemed to be a part of Germany's program and declared that the sinking of passenger ships involved principles of humanity which threw into the background any special circumstances of detail which might be thought to affect the cases. The government of the United States was contending for "something much greater than mere rights of property or privileges of commerce." *It was contending for the rights of humanity*, as well as for the rights of American citizens.

The Reply of the United States.

There can be no justification in Germany's submarine campaign even when viewed from all angles. We cannot justify it even when we consider this part of her reply: "It is the sacred duty of the Imperial German Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. If the Imperial Government was derelict in these, its duties, it would be guilty before God and history of the violation of those principles of highest humanity which are the foundation of every national

No Justification for Germany.

existence." Such an argument in no way exonerates Germany. Nor does it minimize the crime of murdering American mothers and children, not to say anything of the murder of non-combatants of belligerent nationality.

Germany then made the suggestion that American vessels be marked in such a way that they could be recognized by submarine commanders and that the government of the United States "assume the guarantee that these vessels have no contraband on board." Or perhaps, she suggested, a number of neutral steamers could be put under the American flag and in that way "adequate facilities for travel across the Atlantic Ocean could be afforded American citizens. There would therefore be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in time of war on ships carrying an enemy flag." In particular, the Imperial Government felt unable to admit that American citizens could protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board.

The "Marking" of Ships.

Although she had promised to respect American shipping, Germany did not cease in her submarine campaign, for on May 25th, but little over a fortnight from the sinking of the Lusitania, the American steamer Nebraskan was torpedoed when forty-five miles off the southern coast of Ireland, but did not sink. Before a formal protest was made by our government, a note was received from Germany attempting to justify the attack because the submarine commander thought that the boat was British and offering to make compensation for the damage done. Sinkings, however, were carried on, many of which endangered the lives of American citizens.

Torpedoing of the Nebraskan.

July 21st, Secretary of State Lansing sent a last formal note relative to the sinking of the Lusitania, in which he reiterated the principle that the high seas are free, that the character of the cargo of a merchantman must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of non-combatants may in no case be put in danger unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination. "If a belligerent cannot retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued," declared Mr. Lansing, "The very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and

Reiteration of the Principles of International Law.

Government of the German nation impels it to press very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of those rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

When this clearly put statement of our attitude was scarcely two months old, the Arabic, a British liner, bound from Liverpool to New York, was torpedoed on August 19th, without warning. Among the missing were two Americans. Surely this could be characterized as "deliberately unfriendly." The ever ready excuses of the German Government and their offers of "sincere sympathy" for the loss of American lives, although the submarine campaign was waged under our frequent objection, led many Americans to question the sincerity of German pledges. Somewhat alarmed at the turn which public sentiment was taking, Count Von Bernstorff, German ambassador to the United States, offered a definite promise to the American people that henceforth liners would not be sunk by submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of noncombatants, provided the liners did not try to escape or offer resistance.

The Arabic.

Negotiations with the German Government continued until October 5th, when the German ambassador informed the state department that instructions to the commanders of submarines had been "made so stringent that the recurrence of incidents similar to the Arabic case is considered out of the question" and that the German Government disavowed the act and would pay an indemnity for American lives lost. The concessions which were secured as a result included first, an acknowledgment of the right of American ships to sail through the war zone; second, an acknowledgment of liability for American ships damaged or sunk even when carriers of contraband, this liability arising out of the Treaty of 1799 which our Government had made with Prussia, and which permitted Americans citizens to trade with Germany's enemies "as in full peace;" third, a promise not to sink American ships carrying conditional contraband; fourth, an offer to arbitrate the German claim that American ships carrying absolute contraband might be sunk; fifth, an acknowledgment of liability for damages to American citizens on merchant ships, even those of the enemy when the attack was without warning and with no resistance or attempt to escape- sixth, a promise not to attack "liners" even when enemy ones, without giving time to the passengers and crew to escape; seventh, a dis-

The Arabic Concessions.

avowal of the sinking of the Arabic and an expression of regret at the incident; eighth, a promise that in the future a mistake by a submarine commander in suspecting that he was to be attacked would not diminish the liability for damages to American citizens.

The Arabic concessions were considered a diplomatic victory for the United States, and it began to look as though diplomacy and not war was to settle the dispute. However, notwithstanding frequent assurances from the German Government as to the sincerity of its pledges, submarine warfare was continued. A new field of activity was found by both German and Austrian submarines in the Mediterranean Sea where, on November 7th, the Italian liner, Ancona, was sunk without warning. Over two hundred passengers lost their lives, among whom were American citizens. Waiting for a month to ascertain the truth about the sinking President Wilson informed Austria-Hungary in strong terms that "the Government of the United States considers that the commander violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put into a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel. The conduct of the commander can be characterized only as *wanton slaughter of defenseless non-combatants*, since at the time when the vessel was shelled and torpedoed she was not, it appears, resisting or attempting to escape; and no other reason is sufficient to excuse such an attack, not even the possibility of rescue. As the relations of the two countries must rest upon a common regard for law and humanity, the Government of the United States cannot be expected to do otherwise than to demand that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished; and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel."

Submarines in the Mediterranian.

The Ancona.

Austria replied evasively on December 15th and did not offer reparation for her treatment of American citizens. However, notes between President Wilson and the Austrian government were exchanged until the former conceded practically everything demanded by Mr. Wilson.

Our satisfaction at the seemingly amicable adjustment between Austria and this government did not endure long, for, on December 30th the liner Persia was sunk off the coast of Crete. Of five hundred persons on board, only one hundred and sixty-five were saved, among the lost being an American consul

The Sinking of the Persia.

This incident gave rise to renewed pledges on the part of the German Government, which were practically admissions of the illegality of submarine warfare as carried on. The sinking of the Persia was followed by the torpedoing of the French passenger steamer Patria, the Norwegian bark Silius, the Dutch steamer Tubantia, the British steamers Berwendvale and the Englishman, all of whom carried American citizens. On March 24th, the unarmed French channel steamer Sussex was torpedoed with a crew of 53 men and about 325 passengers, of whom 24 Americans were injured. In response to a note from Germany which attempted to prove that the Sussex had ammunition on board and that the fault was not Germany's, President Wilson, on April 18th, sent a sharp reply with the threat that diplomatic relations would be broken if Germany continued in her disregard of international law. An address to Congress in which President Wilson also emphasized the gravity of Germany's offenses, indicated to the Central Powers that the Americans were becoming greatly incensed at Germany's fruitless promises.

The Sussex.

"Again and again," said the President, "the Imperial Government has given its solemn assurances to the Government of the United States that at least passenger ships would not be thus dealt with, and yet it has repeatedly permitted its under sea commanders to disregard those assurances with entire impunity. As recently as February last it gave notice that it would regard all armed merchantmen owned by its enemies as part of the armed naval forces of its adversaries and deal with them as with men-of-war, thus at least by implication, pledging itself to give warning to vessels which were not armed and to accord security of life to their passengers and crews; but even this limitation their submarine commanders have recklessly ignored.

Wilson's Address to Congress and Note to Germany.

"Vessels of neutral ownership, even vessels of neutral ownership bound from neutral port to neutral port, have been destroyed, along with vessels of belligerent ownership, in constantly increasing numbers. Sometimes the merchantmen attacked have been warned and summoned to surrender before being fired on or torpedoed; sometimes their passengers and crews have vouchsafed the poor security of being allowed to take the ship's boats before the ship was sent to the bottom. But again and again no warning has been given, no escape even to the ship's boats allowed to those on board. Great liners like the Lusitania and Arabic, and mere passenger boats like the Sussex, have been attacked without a moment's warning, often before they have become aware that they were in the presence of an armed ship of the enemy, and the lives of non-combatants, passenger, and

crew, have been destroyed wholesale and in a manner which the Government of the United States cannot but regard as wanton and without the slightest color of justification. No limit of any kind has, in fact, been set to their indiscriminate pursuit and destruction of merchantmen of all kinds and nationalities within the waters which the Imperial Government has chosen to designate as lying within the seat of war. The roll of Americans who have lost their lives upon ships thus attacked and destroyed has grown month by month until the ominous toll has mounted into the hundreds.

"The Government of the United States has been very patient. At every stage of this distressing experience of tragedy after tragedy it has sought to be governed by the most thoughtful consideration of the extraordinary circumstances of an unprecedented war and to be guided by sentiments of very genuine friendship for the people and Government of Germany. It has accepted the successive explanations and assurances of the Imperial Government as, of course, given in entire sincerity and good faith, and has hoped, even against hope, that it would prove to be possible for the Imperial Government so to order and control the acts of its naval commanders as to square its policy with the recognized principles of humanity as embodied in the law of nations. It has made every allowance for unprecedented conditions and has been willing to wait until the facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation.

"It now owes it to a just regard for its own rights to say to the Imperial Government that the time has come. It has become painfully evident to it, that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce, is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals and the sacred immunities of non-combatants.

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules in international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course to pursue; unless the Imperial Government should effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic

relations with the German Empire altogether. This action the Goverment of the United States contemplates with the greatest reluctance but feels constrained to take in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutrals."

To Congress President Wilson added the following to his review of German infidelity:

"I have deemed it my duty, therefore, to say to the Imperial German Government that if it is still its purpose to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, notwithstanding the now demonstrated impossibility of conducting that warfare in accordance with what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue, and that unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels this Government can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the Government of the German Empire altogether.

"This decision I have arrived at with the keenest regret; the possibility of the action contemplated I am sure all thoughtful Americans will look forward to with unaffected reluctance. But we cannot forget that we are in some sort and by the force of circumstances *the responsible spokesman of the rights of humanity*, and that we cannot remain silent while those rights seem in process of being swept utterly away in the maelstrom of this terrible war. We owe it to a due regard for our own rights as a nation, to our sense of duty as a representative of the rights of neutrals the world over, and to a just conception of the rights of mankind to take this stand now with the utmost solemnity and firmness."

The Sussex Pledges.

Somewhat alarmed at the threatening tone of the American executive, Germany pledged herself solemnly not to sink vessels within or without the war zone "without warning and without saving human lives, unless those ships attempt to escape or offer resistance." By some in this country President Wilson's speech was called "a bluff"; by others who felt that we should have entered the war after Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality or the sinking of the Lusitania, as another note; and by others as another evidence of his pro-English feeling. Future events, however, proved the wisdom of Wilson's course and demonstrated his superior statesmanship.

For some time after these pledges, the German Government refrained from an active submarine campaign. However on October 7th, an incident occurred which proved that our "isolation" was a thing of the past. A German submarine U-53, carrying a sufficient supply of necessities for a three months, cruise arrived in the harbor of Newport without convoy. That such boats could steal in upon us without warning made the more thoughtful consider what danger might be in store for us, were Germany able to carry out her part of the war successfully. The thirteenth of the same month witnessed events which directly affected our neutral rights, when the British steamships Marina and Rowanmore were sunk. Six Americans lost their lives on the Marina. The next month,—on November 6th,—the liner Arabic was torpedoed without warning on the Mediterranean Sea, without loss of life. This plainly was a violation of the pledge that "liners" would be given warning before being sunk. Upon the complaint of the Government of the United States, Germany declared that the submarine commander thought that the Arabic was a transport ship and therefore attacked immediately. November 15th, the German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Alfred Zimmerman, denied that neutral ships were being sunk maliciously and said Germany's submarines were merely "sinking as a defensive measure ammunition transports to our enemies that are calculated to lengthen the war," and that the sinking even then, was being done "in punctilious compliance with the rules of international law applying to cruiser warfare."

The Arrival of the "U-53."

The Arabic.

In the meantime, the American public endeavored to believe that Germany was trying to live up to her pledges. A peace proposal, on December 12, 1916, through neutral countries, led those Americans inclined toward pro-Germanism to be less harsh in their judgment of the Central Powers. Six days after the German proposal for peace, President Wilson addressed a note to all the nations at war, in which he asked a statement of the objects for which each was fighting. Germany's reply was vague and evasive, while that of the Entente Allies, although not specifically enumerating all the points hoped for, nevertheless was much cleaner-cut and more definite than that of the Central Powers. Upon the receipt of these notes, President Wilson addressed the Senate on his attitude toward what should be the nature of an European peace which would be permanent, and upon what terms the United States would become a member of a League to enforce such a peace. Copies of this address were sent to the governments at war. The reply of the German Government was not unlike that which might have been expected, for it cast the blame of con-

tinuing the war upon the Entente and refused to abandon any weapons which might aid in its fight for existence. She also announced that, due to the failure to come to an understanding with the Entente, Germany would be "unable further to forego the full use of her submarines," and that "under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. All ships met within that zone will be sunk." American passenger boats could continue undisturbed if the port of destination were Falmouth or if a certain specified course were taken; if the steamers were marked with the American flag on the hull as described; if the flags at the mast heads were arranged as indicated, and if the steamers were lighted at night; cargoes could not be of a contraband character, and only one steamer a week could sail in either direction, with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

The Resumption of Unrestricted Submarine Warfare.

The announcement of a resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare temporarily stunned the American people. To be told that the privilege of the high seas, a principle guaranteed by international law, was no longer ours, to be told the exact number of ships which we could send out, how they were to be marked, and how and when they were to sail, gradually appeared to the American people as supreme audacity. February 3rd, President Wilson addressed both houses of Congress in joint session. "I think," said he, "that you will agree with me that, in view of the declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurances given in the Imperial Government's note of the Fourth of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the eighteenth of April 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

Wilson's Address to Congress, February 3.

"I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to His Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and in accordance with this decision, to hand to His Excellency his passport.

"Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments. I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

"If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded; if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity; I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

"We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek to stand true alike in thought and action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

Upon the same day on which these momentous words were spoken Ambassador Bernstorff was given his passport, the American diplomatic and consular representatives were ordered to leave Germany, and the United States sought to find some possible means of retaliation should Germany commit some "overt act."

Thus had come to an end a period of controversy over neutral

rights on the seas,—rights which should have gone unchallenged. President Wilson had been extremely patient. He had repeatedly remonstrated against the ruthless sacrifice of neutral lives and had persistently tried to force Germany to recognize that war, according to all international usages, should not endanger the lives of non-combatants. Our break with Germany was the natural outgrowth of her insistent intent to neglect and to override the rights of humanity.

March 21st, President Wilson summoned Congress to meet in special session on April 2, "to receive a communication by the Executive on grave questions of national policy." Nearly everyone realized that Congress would be asked to declare a state of war, because armed neutrality had been but a pretense and very ineffective. Even though we might arm our own vessels, American citizens would lose their lives on the vessels of belligerent nations under the submarine campaign of Germany.

On April 2nd, Mr. Wilson addressed the following history-making speech to Congress:

The Momentous Address of April 2.

"Gentlemen of the Congress: I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

"On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that the warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo,

their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

"I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion, and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

"It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

"When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has prescribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

"With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

"What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to

those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve, also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well conceived taxation.

"I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

"In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty,—for it will be a very practical duty,—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

"I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the Government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

"While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two

months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principle of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

"We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It is not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would

eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. . . .

"One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

"We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept guage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democ-

racy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

"Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

"I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

"It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all consideration of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us,—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of the friendship,—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we

shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are most of them, as true and loyal American as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

"It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

The Declaration of War against Germany.

On April 6th, both Houses of Congress passed a joint resolution which placed us with those countries of the world who were warring for democracy, and directed the President "to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government, and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States." [1]

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[1] War with Austria-Hungary was declared December 7, 1917.

CHAPTER IV

GERMAN PLOTS AND INTRIGUES IN THE UNITED STATES BEFORE OUR DECLARATION OF WAR.

SOON after the outbreak of the Great War in Europe, Germany began an active campaign in her own interest in this country—a campaign which violated the neutrality of the United States and, in many instances, strained the friendship which had always existed between Germany and America.

The plots which Germany perpetrated may be grouped under the following heads: the attempt to prevent the export of military supplies; the attempt to foment feeling against the Allies and to arouse a pro-German sentiment; the attempt to conduct and cause insurrections in Canada, in India, and in Ireland, through agents in the United States; the attempt to lend military aid through the forgery of passports and through the sending of supplies to German commerce raiders; and the attempt to embroil us in war with Mexico and Japan.

Classes of Plots.

In all of these matters, Germany selfishly placed her own interest above that of honor, above that of the welfare of a neutral nation. In his address to Congress, asking for a declaration of war, President Wilson said:

"One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States."

Most of the schemes which President Wilson mentions in his address were conducted under the direction of Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador to this country. Among his chief assistants may be found the names of Captain von Papen, military attaché;

Captain Boy-Ed, naval attaché; Doctor Albert, commercial attaché; and Wolf von Igel, secretary to von Papen. Under these men served many American journalists, German and Austrian consuls in this country, and German reservists. The Austro-Hungarian ambassador, Dr. Dumba, until his dismissal from this country, was a co-laborer with Count von Bernstorff in these activities, most of which were serious affronts to our national sovereignty.

Leaders in the Intrigues.

On November 2, 1914, there was issued from the German General Headquarters a circular order "to the military representatives on the Russian and French fronts, as well as in Italy and Norway." It carried the following message: "In all branch establishments of German banking houses in Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, China, and the United States, special military accounts have been opened for special war necessities. Main headquarters authorizes you to use these credits to an unlimited extent *for the purpose of destroying factories, workshops, camps, and the most important centers of military and civil supply* belonging to the enemy. In addition to the incitement of labor troubles, measures must be taken for the damaging of engines and machinery plants, the destruction of vessels carrying war material to enemy countries, the burning of stocks of raw materials and finished goods, and the depriving of large industrial centers of electric power, fuel, and food. Special agents, who will be placed at your disposal, will supply you with the necessary means for effecting explosions and fires, as well as with a list of people in the country, under your supervision who are willing to undertake the task of destruction.

Attempts against Military Supplies.

"*(Signed)*. DR. E. FISCHER."

Early in August 1915, a German employment bureau with a central office in New York City and branches in Bridgeport, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, and Cincinnati was established. It was supported by private contributions and by the German Government. The manner of this support is described by Mr. R. H. Otto, former German consul at Kingston, Jamaica:

German Employment Bureau.

"I wrote to the German Embassy covering the whole matter and suggesting that the German Government subsidize the Bureau by a regular contribution of funds. I heard nothing of it for months, but one day received a telephone message from Dr. Heinrich F. Albert to see him at his office, 45 Broadway. When I arrived there, he told me the German Embassy had authorized him to supply our Bureau with funds up to $2000 per month. He then gave me $2000 in greenbacks, mostly in $100 bills. . . . Whenever I learned from Mr. Liebau (the

manager) that money was needed for the Bureau, I gave Dr. Albert 24 hours' notice and went and got the money from him. . . . In all, I must have turned over to Liebau between $24,000 and $30,000."

The Bureau posed as one through which employment could be found for German and Austrian subjects who had voluntarily left factories which supplied the Allies. Its real purpose was to intimidate and coerce employees of munition factories. The Austrian Government circulated through this country, by means of the foreign language press, a proclamation threatening with a sentence of from ten to twenty years' imprisonment all subjects working in such plants, if they later returned to their native land. A circular letter of a similar nature was sent out by the Germans.

The evidence of the extensive operation of these agencies is seen in the monthly report of February 1916:

"Since the Bureau began its work in August 1915, through February, 1916, 2828 Germans and 1638 subjects of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy have been provided for. The total number of applicants is now 8,000. Of these 60 per cent. came from factories producing munition and war material, and 40 per cent. would have been employed in such plants if the agency had not provided for them. . . .

"Engineers and persons in the better class of positions. . . were persuaded by the propaganda of the Bureau to leave war material factories. . . .

"The commercial employment bureaus of the country have no supply of unemployed technicians. . . . Many disturbances and suspensions which war material factories have had to suffer, and which it was not always possible to remove quickly, but which on the contrary often lead to long strikes, may be attributed to the energetic propaganda of the employment bureau."

Strikes.

Another means for crippling industry in this country was through strikes. By this weapon it was thought that they could "disorganize and hold up for months, if not entirely prevent, the manufacture of munitions in Bethlehem and the Middle West." [1] To direct this enterprise, Franz von Rintelen, a close friend of the Kaiser's, was sent to America. Under his direction was started the *Labor's National Peace Council* whose real purpose was to cause strikes in munition factories, but whose alleged purpose was to express the pacific sentiments of the workers and to prevent the United States from entering the war. Labor agitators were hired to visit munition centers in the eastern part of the United States in order to cause strikes.

Labor's National Peace Council.

[1] Letter of Ambassador Dumba to his Foreign Office.

An effort to paralyze America's foreign commerce was undertaken through a strike of stevedores. Ten dollars a week while idle was promised the men by Rintelen, but the men did not strike, although $10,000 was spent for this purpose. In all, Rintelen spent $468,000 to disrupt industry in this country for the sake of Germany.

Between November 10th and 11th, incendiary fires and explosions broke out in the Bethlehem Steel Works, and Midvale Steel and Ordnance Company, the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Eddystone, and Roebling Sons Company at Trenton, New Jersey. Consistent attempts to blow up ships bearing munitions to Europe were abetted, receiving chief direction from Captain von Papen and Wolf von Igel, who established bomb making plants for these designs. Fires are known to have been started by them on thirty-three ships leaving from New York alone. By no means did this number embrace all their activities in this direction.

Perversion of American Opinion.

Perversion of American opinion was encouraged even before the war commenced. This the people of the United States did not realize, although German courses in schools, the exchange of professors between American and German universities, and the organization of German-American societies were actively encouraged. Perhaps one of the most important organs was the *German-American National Alliance* whose existence was due to a desire to spread German influence in America, often through political influence. *Labor's National Peace Council* under the financial direction of Franz von Rintelen, whose activities were mentioned in connection with plots to hinder the exporting of munitions, was interested especially in influencing the sentiment of Congress. *The American Embargo Conference* endeavored to prevent the export of munitions from this country after the Government had declared that such an export lay within the right of a neutral nation. Telegrams were sent out by the Conference to over 5,000,000 voters who were to send them to Congress with the demand that no more munitions be exported. In Chicago alone the *Conference* paid the telegraph company about $20,000.

Purpose of Propagandists.

The German propagandists in the United States desired first to prove that Germany was right in her war; second, to foster a warmth of feeling between Germany and America; third, to gain enough influence to induce Congress to place an embargo on munitions for the Allies; fourth, to encourage pacificism; fifth, to cause friction between the United States and the enemies of the Central Powers.

In this movement to distort American public opinion and to place

the real causes of the war in a shadow, many newspapers and periodicals took part. Vast amounts of money were paid by Ambassador von Bernstorff and his agents in subsidizing newspapers and magazines, many of which professed to teach "undiluted Americanism." Attacks upon the President and other public men were frequently found, and insistence upon certain policies which would ally us with Germany found conspicuous columns in these papers. A law which would forbid Americans to travel on the ships of belligerent states was urged; an embargo on munitions; prohibition of loans to the Allied Powers and the boycott of banks which made them; the defeat of President Wilson in the election of 1916, as well as the members of Congress who opposed bills which were favored by Germany received the endorsement of these German propagandists. German war films were shown in many cities of the United States from whence they were sent to South America, China and Spain.

The sovereignty of the United States was seriously affronted when Germany attempted to use this country as a base from which operations should be directed which would hinder Canada from sending military aid to England. In 1914 it was planned that reservists be sent from the United States to another neutral country from whence they were to embark for Canada and seize some spot on the west coast of Canada with the help of German warships. A definite attempt to blow up the Welland Canal, the grain elevators at Fort William, and the Sault Ste. Marie locks and railroad bridges was frustrated by our government in 1914. Another attempt to blow up the Welland Canal was made in September 1915 under the direction of Paul Koenig, head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Hamburg-American Line. This bureau operated from the offices of the steamship company in New York and became a center of dangerous intrigue.

Intrigues against Canada.

Albert Kaltschmidt, a German citizen living in Detroit, served "the Fatherland" by organizing the Deutschesbund under whose auspices the following plan was evolved:

(a) "To blow up the factory of Peabody's Company, Limited, at Walkerville, Ontario. . . . engaged in manufacturing uniforms clothing, and military supplies. . . .

(b) "To blow up. . . . the building known as the Windsor Armouries of the city of Windsor. . . .

(c) "To blow up and destroy other plants and buildings in said Dominion of Canada, which were used for the manufacture. . . of munitions of war, clothing, uniforms. . . .

(d) "To employ and send into said Dominion of Canada spies to obtain military information. . . ."

Official representatives of Germany on the Pacific coast tried not only to sink ships, but also to cripple the Canadian Pacific Railroad by blowing up the tunnels through which the railway passes under the Selkirk Mountains in British Columbia.

The success of these undertakings, on the whole, was not brilliant. The affront to our sovereignty in conducting such reprehensible schemes from the United States would have warranted our Government in asking for the recall of the German ambassador early in the war.

Attempt to Cause Indian Revolt.

Even before the declaration of War in 1914, an attempt to cause a revolt in India had been started. "*The Indian Nationalist Party*, whose aim had been the overthrow of British rule in India by armed rebellion had received financial aid from Germany and had been directed largely from a committee in Berlin. The chief agent in the United States of this committee was a former teacher and journalist of India, Dr. Chakraberty, who, while in India, had been charged with sedition by the British Government. While under the employ of the German Government he received about $60,000. German agents also financed two widely circulated papers in Hindu published at San Francisco which taught mutiny against the British Government. In 1915, a schooner, "Annie Larsen," was dispatched from San Francisco with a shipment of rifles and ammunition, purchased by German agents, to aid the Hindu revolutionists. Money from the Germany Embassy also financed conspirators who planned an invasion of India from Siam. Finally in March 1918, Consul Franz Bopp, of San Francisco, and several of his assistants were convicted in the federal court for "feloniously conspiring to set on foot a military enterprise to be carried on from within the territory of the United States against India. . . the object and purpose being to initiate mutiny and armed rebellion in India and to overthrow the Government."

Proposed Aid for Irish Revolutionists.

An effort to aid the Irish Revolutionists from sources in America proved no more successful than the plots for Canada and India. By helping the Revolutionists, Germany hoped to harm the military strength of England. Supplies and arms were shipped from America to the Irish through the German Ambassador. That some of the Irish in the United States were co-laborers in this movement is proved by the following telegram:

"Irish request telegraph to Berlin. Delivery of weapons must by no means take place before Sunday the 23rd, because smuggling cannot possibly quickly follow receipt (unloading). This is highly important. Detachment of troops, even though small must immediately follow. Messenger will bring full text. Skal."

When the war broke out in Europe in July 1914, many German reservists were living in the United States. In order to insure a safe journey to their native country many of them obtained passports under false names and under the pretense of being American citizens. This was a plain violation of America's neutrality and "cast suspicion" upon American passports in general. As early as January 20, 1915 the Secretary of State wrote to the chairman of the Senate committee on Foreign Relations:

Fraudulent Passports.

"The Department of Justice has recently apprehended at least four persons of German nationality without molestation by her enemies during the voyage. There are indications that a systematic plan had been devised to obtain American passports through fraud for the purpose of securing passage for German officers and reservists desiring to return to Germany. Such fraudulent use of passports by Germans themselves can have no other effect than to cast suspicion upon American passports in general."

Undeı the direction of Captain von Papen, the German Embassy kept an office in New York City, where passports were forged unreservedly. German consuls in other cities were supplied from the main office at New York and acted as distributing agents for their localities. By these same diplomatic officials of Germany, American citizens were hired to obtain passports which were used for dishonorable and unneutral purposes; some acting as spies in England and others as messengers for Germany.

In November 1914, Hans von Wedell, working under Captain von Papen in charge of the passports, was forced to flee. He was succeeded by Ruroede, under whom the bureau prospered further. This phase of Germany's intriguing was investigated and brought to an end by our government secret service agents, who were employed to aid the Germans, who were ignorant of the true occupations of the men.

German agents in the United States also tried to lend military aid to their country by sending coal and other supplies to German warships which were raiding commerce in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Through its high officials in New York, of the Hamburg-American Line, cargoes of coal and other supplies were shipped to these commerce raiders, the German agents taking false oaths before the Federal authorities concerning the character, destination, and cargoes of their vessels. Such action was an obvious violation of our neutrality, and could involve us in disagreeable discussions with the enemies of Germany, for it appeared as if we were giving "aid and comfort" to the foes of the Allies. Copies of Captain Boy-Ed's account at a New

York bank indicated that the Hamburg-American Line received more than $3,000,000 for aiding Germany's naval operations from the United States. Through its high officials in New York, the Hamburg-American Line perjured itself constantly by obtaining false manifests. At the trial of some of these intriguers, it was found out that through them twelve ships had been sent out under fraudulent papers, all of which had been captured and interned before reaching their destination. Steamers were also dispatched from the western coast, carrying provisions and coal to German raiders.

Attempt to Cause War between Mexico and the United States.

The recital of these plots of the German officials is by no means entirely comprehensive. In numberless ways they trampled under foot the time-honored and sacred rights of a neutral power. Possibly the plot which caused the greatest consternation in the United States was the intrigue to embroil us in war with Mexico and to develop an antagonistic spirit between Japan and the United States, while pretending peace and friendship. The purpose of this maneuver was to create a situation upon which we must concentrate our interest and for which we must preserve our munitions. At the trial of von Rintelen, a witness testified "that he came to the United States in order to embroil it with Mexico and Japan if necessary, that he was doing all he could and was going to do all he could to embroil this country with Mexico, that he believed that if the United States had a war with Mexico it would stop the shipment of ammunition to Europe; that he believed it would be only a matter of time until we were involved with Japan.

"Rintelen also said that General Huerta (of Mexico) was going to return to Mexico and start a revolution there which would cause the United States to intervene and so make it impossible to ship munitions to Europe. Intervention he said, was one of his trump cards."

In Mexico, German officials conducted a strong anti-American campaign and tried to supply the Mexican rebels with munitions. On February 28, 1917, the newspapers announced that Germany had been fomenting a war in Mexico and had instructed her minister to Mexico, von Eckhardt, through Foreign Minister Zimmerman, to persuade Mexico to seek an alliance with Japan against the United States.

"On the first of February," the instructions read, "we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral with the United States of America.

"If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico. That we shall make war together and

together make peace. We shall give general financial support and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory of New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

"You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, shall communicate with Japan, suggesting adherence at once to the plan, and at the same time to offer to mediate between Germany and Japan. . ."

Without doubt, the publication in the newspapers and the verification of such a plot by President Wilson awakened the American people to a realization of their danger. Americans who, heretofore, had maintained that against Germany our acts were unneutral and that we had favored the cause of the Allies, many recalcitrant politicians, anti-administration enthusiasts and many others now realized the perfidy of the German government and that we were in extreme danger. The Zimmerman note stirred the people as no other single event before the declaration of war, save, perhaps, the Lusitania incident.[2]

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[2] See Sperry, German Plots and Intrigues in the United States, Com. on Public Information, Red, White, and Blue Series, No. 10.

CHAPTER V

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE UNITED STATES FOR WAR: ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION

In April 1917, a tremendous problem faced the government of the United States. Not only must men be assembled to serve along the fighting line, but food, clothing, munitions, and other essentials for the winning of the war must be provided. Before we became active participants in the struggle "to make the world safe for democracy" our industrial life had not been carried on under a definite organization; there had been no great attempt to eliminate waste, to govern competition, to restrict indulgence in luxuries, or to coördinate effort. We did not know exactly what our resources or possibilities were, nor just how nor by whom production could be carried on most effectively.

The Huge Task of Mobilization.

The coming of the Great European War in 1914 found the United States organized on a peace basis. Even this organization was not perfect, for many parts were inadequately equipped or not in operation. Our government had come in touch with some of the phases of business life, especially in some sort of a relation between capital and labor, agriculture, finance, transportation and industry, but there was not a close relationship between the government and the business and natural resources of the country.

As the possibilities of danger to us from the European struggle became more noticeable, the advocate of preparedness began to gain the ear of many of our citizens. The realization that it was not so much the lack of men as the lack of different kinds of materials which was prolonging the war, gradually came to the American people.

On July 21, 1915, the President addressed letters to the Secretaries of War and Navy asking them to prepare adequate programs for national defense. At the call of Secretary Daniels, of the navy department, the Naval Consulting Board, with the avowed purpose of studying preparedness and discovering means for increasing the efficiency of the navy, was assembled, October 1915. This board was composed of men selected by eleven important engineering societies. They were men who were especially fitted to examine inventions and to make an inventory of the things needed in naval warfare. From this group of men sprang the Industrial Preparedness Committee who undertook an inspection

Naval Consulting Board.

of existing facilities for the manufacture of munitions during 1916. The data collected dealt with 18,000 industrial plants and served as the basis for future work in industrial mobilization, later carried on under the Council of National Defense and the War Industries Board. The significance of the organization of such a board lies in the fact that at the time of its organization, the general public and many of our government officials openly denounced a movement for preparedness because they did not see the need for such a movement.

Industrial Preparedness Committee.

The next step toward economic mobilization was taken when the Council of National Defense was created through congressional action August, 1916. This council was to consist of the Secretaries of War, Navy, Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and Labor, with seven civilians as an advisory commission. Among the civilians chosen were men who were experts in their fields, and who included such men as Samuel Gompers, President of the National Federation of Labor, Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and Julius Rosenwald of Sears, Roebuck and Company.

Council of National Defense.

The Council and Advisory Commission first had to consider the problem of the industrial mobilization and the acquisition of definite and detailed knowledge of the industrial resources of the country which could be turned to account for the country in case of war. The breaking of diplomatic relations with Germany hastened the organization of the board which however was not perfected in its preliminary stage until one month after the rupture.

To facilitate matters each of the seven members of the Advisory Commission was named as the chairman of a committee to investigate conditions in the special field in which he was interested. Munition supplies, raw materials, medicine, labor, engineering, education and transportation were to be investigated. The technical knowledge of experts was called for and coöperative committees were appointed. In no small way did the Council of National Defense aid in winning the war by gathering data relative to available resources and by coördinating the efforts of the business of the country and that of the government. It helped the war and navy departments in getting supplies and raw materials through the effort of the General Munitions Board, the Committee on Supplies, and the Committee on Raw Materials, aided by coöperative committees. The work of the councils with its Advisory Commission and subordinate committees was purely advisory and, in general, its activities were expressed by the following committees: the Committee on Transportation who directed

the coördination of the numerous railroad systems of the country to facilitate in the mobilization of troops and the expediting of freight shipments; the Automatic Transport Committee who were to take an inventory of the automatic manufacturing facilities of the country and to help in making specifications for standard motor trucks and military motor cycles; the Aircraft Production Board, who were to devise a program for furnishing large numbers of airplanes to the army, and through whose agency the Liberty Motor was produced; the Emergency Construction Committee who were to take charge of construction of cantonments; the Commercial Economy Board who were to secure voluntary coöperation for the conservation of food and material, and the elimination of waste; and the Committee on Coal Production whose effort was to be directed toward the encouragement of an increased output of coal and to help in facilitating the movement of coal to places where there was the greatest need.

In addition to these committees, coöperative committees of industry of the Advisory Committee aided in the selection of places where contracts could be placed most advantageously, in getting information as to means of increasing production and as to industrial resources.

During the period of our participation in the war, the activities of the Council of National Defense in many instances were delegated to newly created boards, such as the Fuel and Food Administration, Labor Policies Board, Railroad Administration, etc. However, the chief civic enterprises were carried on under its direction operating through state councils.

One of the most important questions to be solved was that of shipping. To aid in the solution the Shipping Board was created by Congress on September 7, 1916. The powers of the board were enlarged by presidential proclamations from time to time until it controlled all shipping registered in the United States; held the receivership of German ships and had the power of requisitioning American vessels and of building ships either on American or allied account in American ship-yards.

Shipping Board.

From this board sprang the Government-owned Emergency Fleet Corporation who embarked on a program of wooden ships for emergency use besides the construction of steel ships. The Committee worked arduously to utilize all available yards and to produce, with the greatest economy, the greatest number of ships. Soon the idea of concrete ships became popular, but shortly the supply of such construction materials was exhausted.

Under the Shipping Board was also a Shipping Control Committee

created February 1918 to care for questions of tonnage and to allocate vessels under the Board's direction to cargoes and trade routes. It was to coöperate with various American boards and with the Allied Maritime Transport Council. Other committees were appointed who were to attempt to secure not only space in new ships but to use all available in existing bottoms and to secure greater effectiveness at the harbor end of the voyage.

One of the chief concerns of the American government was the food problem. This problem involved several factors: how to feed the army at home and abroad, how to feed the civilian population of this country, and how to feed the Allies. Besides these factors was that of the regulation of prices. In little over a month from April 6th retail prices jumped 23 per cent. in seventeen selected food commodities, and, in many instances were becoming practically prohibitive for the average consumer. To consider the problem in all its aspects, President Wilson suggested the appointment of a food administrator on May 17th.

Food Administrator.

Voluntary coöperation was at first applied to the food situation, but by an act of Congress (August 10, 1917) the power of extensive control over the food of the country was given the President and through him delegated to the food adminis trator. The law forbade wasting, destroying, hoarding, limiting the production, restricting the supply or distribution, monopolizing, or demanding high prices for necessities. Power was granted the President to require licenses for the importation, storage, manufacture of food, feed, etc. These licenses might be recalled in case of failure to comply with the regulations imposed. To the Food Administration, the President, on November 27th, 1917, gave the power of fixing prices. Among those commodities whose prices were fixed were those of sugar and wheat.

Voluntary Conservation.

The people of the country responded loyally and whole-heartedly to all conservation measures suggested, willingly foregoing the use of sugar, wheat, and meat. War gardens became popular. Unused lots in the city were called into service, the farmer studied the intensified production of his customary crops, and the townsman, after his day's work at the store, in the factory, or at the office, toiled in his garden.

Voluntary conservation was followed by regulations of such commodities as wheat, sugar, and meat. By order of March 1918, the amount of wheat flour to be used in bread was restricted to 80 per cent. A later order forbade dealers to sell wheat flour except in the case where the same amount of substitute flours was purchased.

Grains were further conserved by restrictions placed upon their distillation into liquors, the amount of sugar obtainable by a consumer was regulated, and meatless days requested.

Prior to the war we had not exported much food. Raw materials imported by us had been transformed into finished products and exported, for we, in many instances, imported even food-stuffs. During the war, the areas from which had been obtained these food-stuffs, in general, were inaccessible. To the United States fell the duty of furnishing these necessities. Great Britain depended for 65 per cent. of her essential food-stuffs upon Canada and the United States. From March 1, 1916 to March 1, 1917, the reserve of the six principal grains in the United States was reduced to an amount equal to one pound per day for every man, woman, and child in America. The difference between the amount of grain in our country, at the beginning and at the end of that one year was greater than any crop ever raised in the United States, with three exceptions.[1] It was therefore, necessary to restore our own reserve of grain to such a degree that the failure of a new crop would not produce famine. From 1914 to 1917 our exports of beef products increased from 148,000,000 pounds to 411,000,000 pounds, and our exports of pork products from 922,000,000 pounds in 1914 to 1,500,000,000 pounds in 1917.

To improve conditions in the meat industry five things were attempted by the Food Administration:

1. A minimum price per hundred weight was announced for hogs.

2. Meatless Tuesdays, porkless Saturdays, and one meatless meal a day were urged. This movement made available for shipment to the Allies larger quantities of meat than would otherwise have been the case.

3. The purchase of all meats by the Allies was centralized in a Meat Division.

4. A zone system of shipment was established by which an attempt was made to regulate the daily receipts of live stock in Chicago and Kansas City.

5. Packers were licensed under the food control law, and the profit of the five largest packers in the meat departments of the business was limited to 9 per cent. on the capital employed.

The Food Administration was primarily a war organization for the purpose of getting food to our Allies. Congress limited its legal powers, but voluntary coöperation of producers, manufacturers, and retail dealers, accomplished most of what was desired.

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[1] Annals Am. Acad. Pol. Sc. LXXVIII, p. 157.

On April 27, 1917, the Committee on Coal Production, to stimulate the output and hasten the delivery of coal, was organized under the Council of National Defense, and on August 22nd, a fuel administrator was selected with the power of fixing prices and licensing of trade.

Committee on Coal Production.

During the month of January, to offset the lack of fuel, coalless days and lightless nights were suggested. Upon these days many factories ceased work and in all towns, upon lightless nights, street lights were extinguished as far as compatible with public safety.

Fuel Administrator.

Another outgrowth of the Council of National Defense was the War Industries Board. It was organized to see that there was an adequate supply of all materials needed for the navy and for the army, for the military needs of our Allies, together with commodities necessary, for neutrals who were furnishing things essential to us. It assumed the duties of the General Munitions Board, devoting its activities to procuring supplies.

War Industries Board.

In a letter of March 4, 1918, to the chairman of the War Industries Board, the President delegated considerable power to the Board:

1. The creation of new facilities and the disclosing, and if necessary, the opening up of new or additional sources of supply;
2. The conversion of existing facilities, where necessary, to new uses;
3. The studious conservation of resources and facilities by scientific commercial and industrial economies;
4. Advice to the several purchasing agencies of the Government with regard to the prices to be paid;
5. The determination, wherever necessary, of priorities of production and of delivery and of the proportions of any given article to be made immediately accessible to the several purchasing agencies when the supply of that article was insufficient, either temporarily or permanently;
6. The making of purchases for the Allies.

The Board had the right of commandeering industries. It had direct control over every need of civilian and military life save fuel and food. For instance, to save leather, the height, the number of styles, and the colors of shoes were regulated; steel was conserved by reducing the number of kinds of axes, hatchets, bits, and such; wool was saved by reduction in the number of models for men's clothing and by changed styles in women's apparel, and by other conservation measures. The saving effected under the direction of the Board, although in single instances it seemed small, yet multiplied in many lines of business, mounted into millions of dollars.

Enemy trade was regulated by the War Trade Board established through the Espionage Act, and by the Alien Enemy Custodian. The latter, Mr. Mitchell A. Palmer, administered the property of alien enemies which was found in the United States, and, in one year alone, about one billion dollars of property, much of which was turned into Liberty Bonds, was under his control. The War Trade Board studied thoroughly the situation of active enemy trade and sought out means for checking it. This involved a regulation of all foreign trade carried on by machinery to issue licences; to publish rules, regulations, and journals; to issue export conservation lists; to adopt programs for rationing useful enterprises and for the destruction of useless ones.

The War Trade Board.

The first proclamation was issued on July 8, 1917, entitled a "Proclamation Prohibiting Exports of Coal, Food, Grains, Meats, Steel, and other Products except by License."

Just as important as these agencies just enumerated was the control exercised by the government over the transportations system of the country. In April 1917, the Railroad War Board became a coöperative committee of the Council of National Defense. As the military situation became more complex and the necessity of first attending to war measures became more imperative, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo was named as Director General of the Railroads. To him was given the care of operating 398,014 miles of track with nearly 2,000,000 employees. Wage increases satisfied the demands of railroad labor and railroad management was greatly consolidated by the elimination of ticket offices and terminals. Other far reaching and beneficial measures tended to produce an efficiency of transportation not known heretofore, with preference always given to troop movements and those agencies directly affecting the successful issue of the war. In truth, government operation of the railroads, which had been espoused by many for years, became a reality.

Railroad War Board.

CHAPTER VI

MOBILIZING THE NAVY AND ARMY

SEVERAL weeks before war upon Germany was declared, our government had begun preparations for greater military resources in anticipation of impending dangers. March 25th, an executive order increased the enlisted strength in the navy to 87,000 in accordance with the emergency authority conferred upon the President by the naval service act of August 29, 1916. On the 26th of March, Secretary-of-the-Navy Daniels sent a telegram to twenty-six thousand editors throughout the country stating that new ships and ships in reserve were being fully commissioned as rapidly as possible, and urging that naval recruits offer their services to man these vessels. The authorized enlisted strength of the marine corps was likewise increased to 174,000, and increase of 2,419 over the limit allowed under the emergency act. At the Naval Academy one hundred and eighty-three new ensigns were rushed into the navy three months in advance of their time for graduation and were assigned to various vessels by the last of March.

Increase of Navy before April, 1917.

When war was declared, the United States had a total of 8,517 enlisted men and officers in its service. These were assigned to ships to be used in the coast patrol service or on other naval duty. When the order came for service, all ships in active commission were ready for duty but many of the battle-ships in the reserve fleets, reserve destroyers, and other reserve units had only a nucleus of a crew and had now to be fully manned. As quickly as possible those vessels which had been out of commission were placed in active duty. The total number of men which was required for the proper mobilization of the navy was 99,809 regulars and 45,870 reserves. It was estimated that 73,817 regulars and 25,219 reserves needed for battleships, scouts, destroyers, submarines, mine force and training ships. The coast defense was estimated at 10,633 regulars and 2080 reserves.

After the call of war, the need of men for the navy became more imperative and an active campaign of recruiting was conducted. The average of 700 recruits soon came to be the daily enlistment throughout the country and on April 17, Secretary Daniels announced that there were already 71,696 of the 87,000 which had been authorized.

As a war measure on April 6th, President Wilson authorized the seizure of all wireless stations. Defensive war zones, under the guard

of patrol boats, were established around the whole coast of the United States. Certain barred zones about different coast points were established into which vessels were forbidden to enter at night, and during the day time, were forced to enter under fixed terms of pilotage. Contracts for the construction of destroyers and ships were soon awarded by the Government and means of combating the submarine menace by a large production of ships were soon devised.

Seizure of Wireless Stations.

On April 6, 1917, America had an army of 293,438. At the end of a twenty months period this army had assumed the astounding size of 4,339,047. This increase was brought about by enlistment and by conscription, a bill authorizing the latter form of recruiting the strength of the army passing Congress May 18th. Under the provisions of the conscription bill men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one without dependent wives or children were required to serve unless exempted on some other ground. Unmarried men with dependents were not required to serve, and unmarried men belonging to exempted classes under regulations were also to be exempted. The President was granted final authority on all questions of exemption or discharge. He was authorized to appoint a local board for each county or similar subdivision and a local board for each 30,000 population in cities of 30,000 or more. These local boards were composed of three or more persons not connected with the military establishment and were chosen from local authorities or other citizens of the subdivision in which the board had jurisdiction. They had power to hear and determine, subject to review by district boards, which were appointed for each federal district, all questions of exemption and all questions of including or excluding individuals or classes in the selective draft. The district boards could review the decisions of local boards. Appeals from the district boards could be made to the President. The specific exemptions in the bill included state and federal officials of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, persons in the naval or military service and members of religious sects with conscientious objections to war. The President was authorized to exclude from draft or to draft for "partial military service only," county and municipal officers, customs house clerks, persons employed by the United States in the transportation of the mails and certain other designated classes, together with "persons engaged in industries, including agriculture, found to be necessary to the maintenance of the military establishment and the effective operation of the military forces or the maintenance of the national interest during the emergency."

Conscription.

The first step in putting into operation the selective conscription law was to register all male residents who had reached the age of twenty-one but who were not yet thirty-one, on the fifth day of June. An official statement given out by the Committee on Public Information on the night of June 5th declared:

"Nearly 10,000,000 Americans of military age registered to-day for service in the army against Germany. The registration was accomplished in a fashion measuring up to the highest standards of Americanism. The young men came to the registration places enthusiastic; there was no hint of a slacking spirit anywhere except in a few cases where misguided persons had been prevailed upon to attempt to avoid their national obligation.

"From every state reports were received showing that the sporadic conspiracies to thwart the first step toward the mobilization of as large an army as the country may need to bring the war to a victorious conclusion had failed utterly. The Department of Justice had a tremendous machinery ready to cope with these conspiracies, but it proved to be unnecessary.

"Arrangements had been made by the Department of Justice and the War Department to secure immediate telegraphic reports upon any outbreaks or troublesome occurrence.

"The spirit of the young men from whom the fighting forces are to be selected was evident in their attitude toward question 12 on their registration blanks, which asked if exemption was claimed. In thousands of cases young men availed themselves of their right to ignore the question and leave it entirely for the government to decide whether they should be selected. This spirit was evidenced again in the receipt during the day of numerous requests from diplomatic and consular officials of the United States for additional registration cards to be used by citizens who are now in other countries. This fact was impressive because registration is voluntary on the part of Americans resident abroad. Patriotic enthusiasm was everywhere evident and gave promise to worthy achievements which later actually took place on the battlefields of France." Training camps sprang up in many selected places and turned out efficient officers and soldiers in a relatively short time. When America entered the war only one person in each five hundred and eighty in the nation was in the army. When the war came to an end more than one fourth of the entire male population between the ages of eighteen and thirty-one years was in the army, and in a short time the proportion would have been much greater, inasmuch as the age limit had been extended from thirty-one to forty-six for males liable to military service.

The first contingents of the first United States army to fight in Europe reached France June 26th and 27th, 1917. Less than four weeks after the call of May 18th our transports had departed from Atlantic seaports, bearing a determined and inspiring message from the American people to their allies in arms. It is said that never before had a military expedition of such size been assembled, transported, and landed in so short a time with the exception of one: the movement of British troops to South Africa during the Boer war.

Our First Fighting Force.

Twice on their journey our men were attacked by submarines, on the night of June 22nd and on the morning of the 23rd. Few were aware of the first attacks except the officers on the bridges of the transports and the crews of the warships. As the alarm was given bubbles on the water indicated that a torpedo was about twenty feet from one of the transports. An eye witness has given us an interesting description:

". . . . our (the big ship's) helm was jammed over. Firing every gun available, we swung in a wide circle out into our place, and from what the lookout told me I think one of her shells must have landed right above the submarine. But they are almost impossible to hit when submerged, and the periscope is no target anyway.

"They fired three, if not four, torpedoes. It was God's mercy that they all went astray among so many of our ships. One passed just astern. . . . . We drove right at them (really, I suppose, the safest thing to do as the bow gives the smallest mark to shoot at) and it seems to have rattled Brother Boche considerably. . . .

"The whole business lasted only about a minute and a half. . . . when the thing was happening I had no time for anything but to attend to my job. Afterward I found myself sweating and my breast heaving as if I had run five miles."

The French greeted our soldiers with great enthusiasm, hailing them as the saviors of democracy. "The Star Spangled Banner" and "Marsellaise" were played everywhere by bands and "Vive la France" rang from many throats. On June 28th, General Pershing, commander-in-chief of the American forces, visited the American camp and after an inspection of the American troops issued the following statement:

"This is the happiest of the busy days which I have spent in France, prepared for the arrival of the first contingent. Today I have seen our troops safe on French soil, landing from transports that were guarded in their passage overseas by the resourceful vigilance of our navy.

"Now our task as soldiers lies before use. We hope, with the aid of the French leaders and experts who have placed all the results of

their experience at our disposal, to make our force worthy in skill and in determination to fight side by side in arms with the French army."

In March, our Allies met disaster at the hands of the Germans on the western front. This brought to us a realization that the war was to be won by fighting in Europe and that there was great need for speeding up our training of soldiers. Beginning with the first of April, therefore, men were sent across at the rate of 250,000 or more a month. Most of them were placed on the Lorraine front, near St. Mihiel. North and south of this line, however, American troops were brigaded with the French and English to stabilize the lines east of Amiens.

The first distinctively American action took place at Cantigny, a little town on a low-lying plateau on the Avre, northwest of Montdidier. Here for the first time the Americans answered the German remark that Americans were too materialistic to fight and were of too many races to be united. Here our men commanded by American officers, under American artillery fire, met and conquered some of the best of Germany's long-trained troops.

Cantigny.

During the last days of May the Germans launched a strong attack against the French at Chemin des Dames. Gradually the French lines retreated from Soissons to Craonne the front lines giving way to the onrushing Germans, while the flanks held fast. The danger which confronted our armies lay in an extension of the attack to the west, which might have lead to the loss of the great forests of Vitlers-Cotlerets and of Compiégne as well as the line of the Oise River, the most powerful obstacles to the east and southeast to the coast and to Paris. As the Germans approached the Marne River they attempted to spread out toward the west. At Château-Thierry the principal crossing of the Marne River, came the turning point of the war, for here, the German troops, under the flush of victory with their goal not far distant, were forced to accept defeat at the hands of the American armies, who, although outnumbered, fought with a wild and ceaseless courage. By many military experts Château-Thierry has been called the turning point of the war, and, it can be no small matter of pride that Americans made possible the final victory of the Allied arms by their unflinching bravery at Château-Thierry. During June and early July, our forces by attacks about Belleau-Wood hindered the Germans from extending their lines toward the west.

Chateau-Thierry.

A great French attack forcing the Germans to retreat began on July 18th, along the Aisne River. In conjunction with this attack and operating with the French, the Americans drove back the Germans

between the Marne and the Veste, until the Marne salient was flattened out and Paris was enabled to rest with less anxiety as to her safety. American forces also aided our allies in Flanders, in Artois, on the Somme, and along the Aisne.

The first big American battle in France began September 26th in the Argonne Forest. Here were tested the strength and determination of the American against the experience of the German fighter, who held long fortified and naturally strong positions. Between the Argonne and Mezières the German four-defense-line system came together. The American was assigned the task of breaking this series of defenses. Should they succeed, an important means of communication between the Germans and Germany would be broken off. Fresh and eager for battle, the Americans, between September 26th and November 7th broke the four lines of German trenches and reached Sedan. By November 8th Sedan was in the possession of the Americans and by plowing under fire Carignan, Mezières and Charleville, they had cut the whole German transportation system in Champagne. Without control over the transportation system, Germany was helpless, for without it, she could bring neither food, munitions, nor new men, all of which were essential for her continued hold upon the territory. The achievement of the Americans can not be over-estimated, for in their six weeks of dauntless and courageous fighting they had broken the German line and spelled defeat for the Central Powers, a defeat which was to be acknowledged on November 11th.

Argonne Forest.

Sedan.

AMERICA'S RECORD IN THE WAR DURING TWO YEARS

A Few of the Statistics Relating to Our Armed Forces, Casualties, Shipping, and Estimated Cost of Operations, April 6, 1917, to April 6, 1919

April 6, 1917—	
Regular Army	127,588
National guard in federal service	80,466
Reserve corps in service	4,000
Total of soldiers	212,034
Personnel of navy	65,777
Marine corps	15,627
Total armed forces	293,438
Nov. 11, 1918—	
Army	3,764,000
Navy	497,030
Marine corps	78,017
Total armed forces	4,339,047

Soldiers transported overseas	2,053,347
American troops in action Nov. 11, 1918	1,338,169
Soldiers in camps in the United States Nov. 11, 1918	1,700,000
Casualties, army and marine corps, A. E. F	282,311
Death rate per 1,000 A. E. F	057
German prisoners taken	44,000
Americans decorated by French, British, Belgian, and Italian armies, about	10,000
Number of men registered and classified under selective service law	23,700,000
Cost of thirty-two national army cantonments and national guard camps	179,620,497
Students enrolled in 500 S. A. T. C. camps	170,000
Officers commissioned from training camps (exclusive of universities, etc.)	80,000
Women engaged in government war industries	2,000,000

BEHIND THE BATTLE LINES

Railway locomotives sent to France	967
Freight cars sent to France	13,174
Locomotives of foreign origin operated by A. E. F	350
Cars of foreign origin operated by A. E. F	973
Miles of standard gauge track laid in France	843
Warehouses, approximate area in square feet	23,000,000
Motor vehicles shipped to France	110,000

ARMS AND AMMUNITIONS

Persons employed in about 8,000 ordnance plants in the United States at the signing of the armistice	4,000,000
Shoulder rifles made during war	2,500,000
Rounds of small arms ammunition	2,879,148,000
Machine guns and automatic rifles	181,662
High explosive shells	4,250,000
Gas shells	500,000
Shrapnel	7,250,000
Gas masks, extra canisters, and horse masks	8,500,000

NAVY AND MERCHANT SHIPPING

Warships at beginning of war	197
Warships at end of war	2,003
Small boats built	800
Submarine chasers built	355
Merchant ships armed	2,500
Naval bases in European waters and the Azores	54
Shipbuilding yards (merchant marine) increased from 61 to more than	200
Shipbuilding ways increased from 235 to more than	1,000
Ships delivered to shipping board by end of 1918	392
Deadweight tonnage of ships delivered	3,423,495

FINANCES OF THE WAR

Total cost approximately	$24,620,000,000
Credits to eleven nations	8,841,657,000
Raised by taxation in 1918	3,694,000,000
Raised by Liberty Loans	14,000,000,000
War Saving Stamps to Nov. 1918	834,253,000
War relief gifts, estimated	4,000,000,000

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American Year Book (1917), 141-142: (1918), 167-169, 338-342.
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CHAPTER VII

WHY THE UNITED STATES ENTERED THE WAR

In order to understand thoroughly why the United States finally entered the war and why she was not a participant earlier than April 1917, one need but look into the foreign policy of Woodrow Wilson. This policy as revealed in his messages and speeches includes six main principles:

Wilson's Foreign Policy.

1. A fundamental faith in democracy, a belief in man himself.
2. Equality of all nations, irrespective of size.
3. The preservation of peace through fair dealing.
4. The maintenance of international law.
5. Arbitration as a means for the settlement of disputes.
6. Force to be used only to combat criminal aggression and to further great humanitarian purposes.

President Wilson's foreign policy had been formulated to a considerable degree before the war broke out. The foundations of this policy lay in the Mexican situation where he wished coöperation to develop with the United States; a cooperation which was possible, he believed, "only when supported at every turn by the orderly processes of just government based upon *law*, not upon *arbitrary* or *irregular force*." Because of this belief, the President refused to acknowledge the presidency of Huerta, feeling that he was unfit to govern and that he had attained power by other means than "by the orderly processes of law," In the Mexican situation Wilson expressed a desire to serve the people of a war ridden land, just as in the the Great War later, he ordered our forces overseas for the "sake of humanity." An imperialistic policy was repudiated when he declared that the American people wanted nothing for themselves in Mexico. For this he was criticised by those who believed firmly in the policy which permits the flag of a country to follow its investors into any place and to declare war to defend private interests. "A war of aggression is not a war in which it is a proud thing to die, but a war of service is one in which it is a good thing to die," he declared.

Mexican Affairs.

Financial concessions to a nation often have led to political control by the creditor power. For this reason President Wilson objected to the participation of the United States in the "Six Power Loan" to China, a loan made by bankers from Great Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States. Representatives of the

banking houses in the United States in March 9, 1913, called upon the President and asked his attitude toward their participation in the loan. To these officials he made known that he disapproved of the conditions of the loan inasmuch as it might lead to interference in the political affairs of China, but he did wish to open "a door of friendship and mutual advantage," with China. "It is a very perilous thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in terms of material interest," he declared. It not only is unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading as regards your own actions." He carried his point still further by saying that "the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." Imperialism, then, was to have little force in the actions of America under the guidance of Woodrow Wilson.

Financial Concessions.

In these statements he developed an emphasis upon the need of a just practice between nations. "Comprehension," said he, "must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship, and there is reason and a compulsion lying behind all this which is dearer than anything else to thoughtful men of America. I mean the development of constitutional liberty in the world. Human rights, national integrity, and opportunity as against material interests—that. . . . is the issue. . . ."

The administration further desired to encourage plans for insuring international peace. During the latter part of the year 1913 and early 1914, thirty-one nations, representing four-fifths of the population of the world sanctioned the policy of arbitration. It was proposed "that whenever differences of interest or of policy arise that could be resolved by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they shall be publicly analyzed, discussed and reported upon by a tribunal chosen by the parties before either nation determines its course of action." If arbitration could be resorted to, force would no longer be the means for the settlement of disputes between nations.

International Peace.

Wilson's attitude toward the legitimacy and sacredness of international law clearly revealed itself in his correspondence with the belligerent nations in the Great War. To the people of America, the war at first seemed but a repetition of former European quarrels, from which we must stand aloof. Perhaps, we thought, we might offer mediation and endeavor in all possible ways to urge a settlement between the warring powers. There are four distinct stages in Wilson's policy from 1914 to 1917:

International Law.

Stages in Wilson's Foreign Policy 1914-1917.

1. A period of absolute neutrality, August, 1914 to February, 1915.

2. A period of diplomatic correspondence, in which the freedom of the seas was the chief point at issue. February, 1915 to December, 1915.

3. A period in which there were suggestions of a need for greater preparedness, but where no extensive plans were laid. December, 1915 to February, 1917.

4. A period of armed neutrality in which President Wilson asked the privilege of arming ships for defensive purposes against Germany's submarine attacks. February, 1917 to April, 1917.

During the first three stages of Wilson's policy toward the nations at war, Americans, on the whole, were inert. Gradually, however, under the thoughtful and sane leadership of the President, they came to a realization of the issues; came to see that this was not purely an European struggle, but a war in which principles were at stake. During the years of 1916 and 1917 President Wilson's emphasis on the rights of humanity, on the rights of small nations, and the inviolability of international law began to be reëchoed by the American people, so that, when diplomatic relations were severed, they wholeheartedly endorsed that action. They came to realize that to preserve these rights they must take up arms against the aggressors of those rights: Germany and her allies.

If President Wilson foresaw our entrance into the war, his attitude in 1914 does not indicate it. Like the American people as a whole, he was interested primarily in the pursuits of peace and abhorred war. At that time, too, the issues involved were not so apparent, but during the year 1915 the views of the President were shaping themselves in such a way that in May, 1916, he said: "We are participants whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interest of all nations are our own also . What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia. . Henceforth . . . there must be a common agreement for a common object, and . at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and mankind . We believe these fundamental things: First, that every people has a right *to choose the sovereignty* under which they live . . Second, *that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon*, and third, *that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.*"

Memorial Day, 1916, in response to those clinging to Washington's policies, he declared that he himself would never consent to an en-

A F R I C A
ARABIA
HEDJAZ
RED SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TURKEY
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA
Teheran
Herat
AFGHANISTAN
MESOPOTAMIA
PALESTINE
SYRIA
RUSSIA
Moscow
Petrograd
Volga
FINLAND
SWEDEN
NORWAY
GERMANY
FRANCE
SPAIN
ITALY
POLAND
RUMANIA
SIBERIA
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
Bombay
Colombo
CEYLON
Delhi
INDIA
Calcutta
NEPAL
TIBET
MONGOLIA
Urga
Irkutsk
Chita
FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC
MANCHURIA
CHINA
Peking
Port Arthur
Wei-hai-wei
Shanghai
Canton
Hongkong
EAST CHINA SEA
KOREA
Vladivostok
Okhotsk
SEA OF OKHOTSK
SAKHALIEN
JAPAN
Tokio
PACIFIC OCEAN
BAY OF BENGAL
Rangoon
Bangkok
SIAM
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
MALAY PEN.
Singapore
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Manila
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (U. S.)
SUMATRA
BORNEO
NEW GUIANA
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC., N.Y.

ASIA IN 1921.

tangling alliance, but that he sanctioned a "disentangling alliance—an alliance which would disentangle the peoples of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests and unite the people of the world to preserve the peace of the world upon a basis of common right and justice. There is liberty there, not limitation. There is freedom, not entanglement. There is achievement of the highest things for which the United States has declared its principle." Here he definitely advocated that the United States become a member of an alliance to keep the peace of the world,—A League to Enforce Peace.

League to Enforce Peace.

Gradually and yet surely, President Wilson's policies became those of the mass of the American people. Slowly a realization came that this was a war which vitally concerned the American people, a war in which there was not merely a contest between armies, but one in which there was a contest between forms of political organization. This realization expanded and developed until, when on April 6th, President Wilson and Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States of America and Germany, American hearts were thrilled to undertake the task of "making the world safe for democracy." Throughout the period of the war, President Wilson was our leader, our spokesman. With most Americans, he abhorred war and endeavored in every way to keep out of it. But with most Americans, when our nationality was trampled under foot he whole-heartedly became a participant in the struggle.

Wilson the Exponent of the Policies of the People.

The United States entered the Great War because Germany failed to observe the rights of small nations; because she had no regard for international law; because she sanctioned atrocities and willingly and knowingly violated the rights of neutrals; and because she disregarded the principles of right and justice, upon which America and other democratic and civilized countries have based their institutions.

Reasons for a Declaration of War

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